# THE SURVEY

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## *The Gist of It*

ONCE upon a time only queens had mirrors. Perhaps it is characteristic of this age that there are mirrors everywhere for all of us. Nor are we content with individual effects and surface appearances. Increasingly we try to bring our backgrounds into focus, to get behind the scenes, to trace the relationships of complex factors, the influence of remote cause and effect. One of these vast, modern adventures in seeing ourselves is the study of Recent Economic Changes, over which a sponsoring committee of financial engineers have toiled for more than a year. The reports represent an immense amount of labor, inquiry, technical skill. In this issue of Survey Graphic a group of writers review these reports, not in technical but in human terms. The reviews and DR. MITCHELL'S summary article give back to us the current scene and the chief characters in it, in the light of the movement and the change of the eight swift years since 1921.

BEULAH AMIDON is the member of the Survey staff who has had editorial responsibility for this sheaf of articles. Page 279.

FROM the heart of the grain belt, WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE of Emporia, Kansas, sends his picture of the modern farmer, faced with the problems of shifting markets, tractor plowing, combine harvesting and modern standards of living (page 281). Here is the salty flavor of the Emporia Gazette, and Mr. White's own wise understanding of American land and folk.

THE gains of American wage-earners, the reasons why these gains have been held, the factors that tend to encourage and tend to counteract them are swiftly reviewed (page 283) by EVANS CLARK, a close student of American labor economics, and a former editorial writer for the New York Times who is now acting as secretary of the Twentieth Century Fund.

AS vice-president of The Hills Brothers Company through a period of rapid industrial expansion and new and complex industrial change, ERNEST G. DRAPER has had a hand in formulating and carrying forward some striking experiments in industrial management and in employer-employe relations. Against the background of this experience he writes of the new art and science of business management. (Page 286.)

AS instructor of English at the University of Chicago, as secretary of the A.I.C.P., as head of the Bureau of Industrial Research, as associate editor of Survey Graphic and, more recently as industrial relations secretary of the J. C. Penney Foundation, ROBERT W. BRUÈRE has been chiefly interested in the working world and the way people function in it. It is thus that he writes of the modern merchant and his new forms—chain stores, transportation facilities, sales organizations—and of the "whys" as well as the "hows" of his multitudinous activities. (Page 288.)

A GRADUATE of the Columbia School of Journalism, MERRYLE STANLEY RUKEYSER won his journalistic spurs as assistant sporting editor of the Morning Telegraph. But it is as former financial editor of the New York Tribune and of the New York Evening Journal, and as a writer of books and magazine articles on investments and banking that he summarizes and evaluates what the research committee found out about the banker and his new clientele of small investors. (Page 291.)

AS editor of the special issue of Survey Graphic (November, 1928) on middle-class earning and spending, and also as a successful housekeeper, MARY ROSS has had wide opportunity to study the consumer and his wants and how he satisfies them. Tables of market statistics she interprets for us in terms of the vitamines and silk stockings and radios and bathtubs and schooling and medical care that have so important a place in modern thought and in modern budgets. (Page 293.)

WESLEY C. MITCHELL, American authority on the business cycle, has been, with Edwin F. Gay, the head of the research staff that has carried on this study. In addition to his responsibility for the whole project, Dr. Mitchell has written the review chapter that will conclude the two-volume report. Here he has carved from those hundred typewritten pages an article which traces the broad sweep and the complex interrelations of Recent Economic Changes in this country. (Page 296.)

THAT it is still an arduous job to be a homemaker, magazine advertising notwithstanding, is shown in the results of a survey by the federal Bureau of Home Economics, discussed (on page 301) by HILDEGARDE KNEELAND, who is in charge of the division of economics of that bureau. In a future issue Miss Kneeland will write on, Is the Housewife Worth Her Salt? balancing the pros and cons of money and less tangible considerations which confront a modern housewife in deciding whether to use her energies in her home, or to go out to earn what they will bring in the vocational market, and again drawing in actual experience of women studied in the course of the survey.

ANNE ROLLER commutes spryly between the office of Survey Graphic and her home in Berkeley, California, where she has a personal and local as well as a journalistic interest in the remarkable results of Chief Vollmer's work in the police department (page 304).

MISS ADDAMS' page (303) is drawn from the book she has been working on during her stay in Arizona, The Second Twenty Years At Hull House, to be brought out by Macmillan in sequence to those earlier volumes which, like prisms, have caught the lights and colors, as well as the shadows, of life in the American community.


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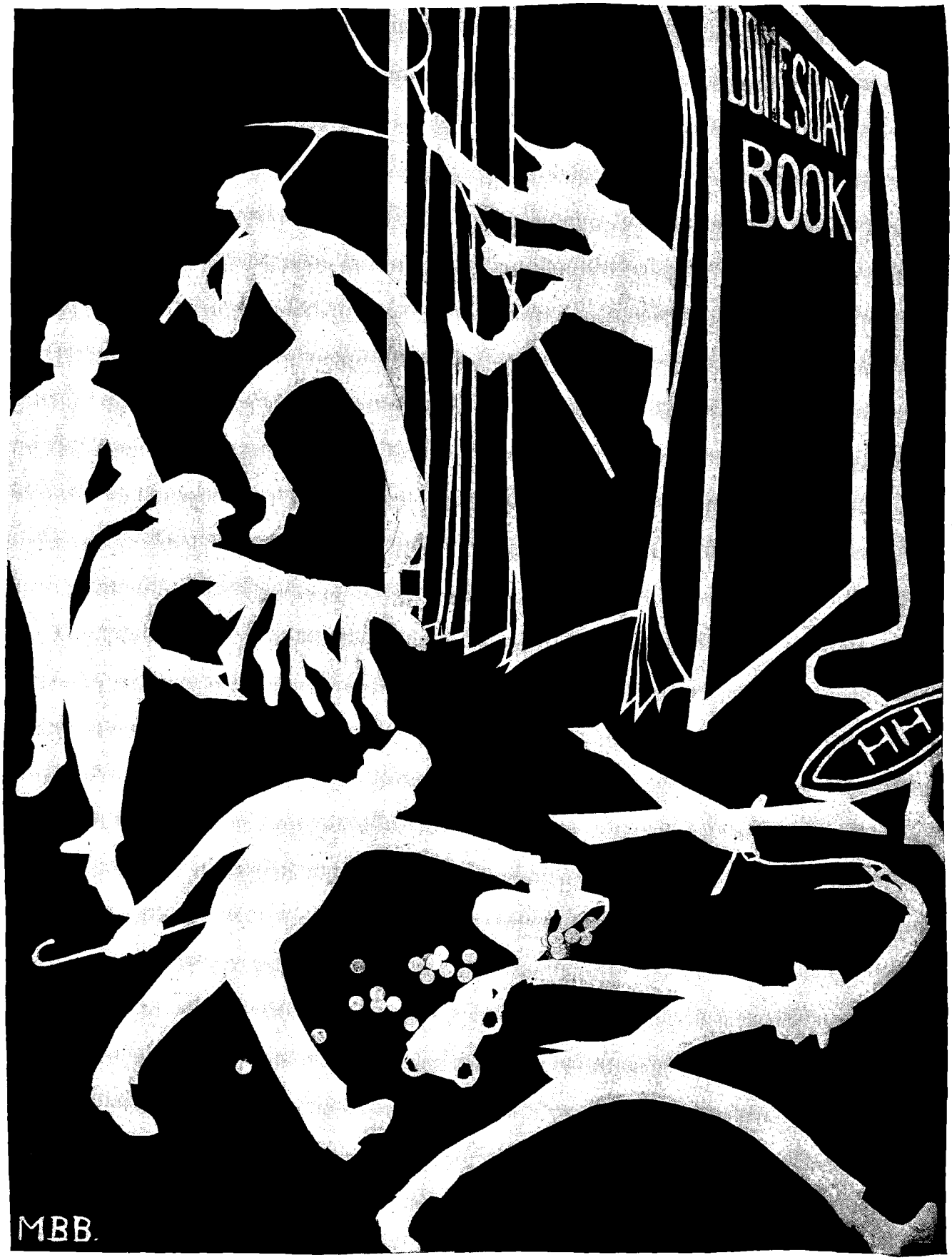


OUT OF THE NEW DOMESDAY BOOK

*Scissors Picture by Martha Bensley Bruère, Showing Our Cast of Characters One After Another: Farmer, Worker, Manager, Merchant, Banker, Consumer*

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THE SURVEY
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# Why Prosperity Keeps Up

By BEULAH AMIDON

THE great Domesday Book set down in the year 1086 the name of every man in England and the list and value of everything he owned, to the last pig and hayrick. From the presses this month comes a kindred book of reckoning in the terms and tempo of 1929, a tally and an interpretation of the prevailing currents in American life in the eight swift years since the collapse of the war boom in 1921.

For more than a year, a group of experts have gone into the highways and byways of our times, gathering, not cold statistics of John Smith's farm acreage and Tom Brown's cotton looms, but clues to the shuttling threads of our complex modern world—the connection between railroad mileage and the price Farmer Gray gets for potatoes and pays for shoes; the changing relationship of banker and industrialist; the five-day week as the worker, the automobile maker, the radio salesman see it; the lettuce and spinach and oranges that have replaced pork and white bread in the housewife's market-basket; that newcomer in the modern scene, the manager, who is making an art of the organization and conduct of industrial enterprise; the outstanding phenomenon of unemployment as a direct result of efficiency and "good times."

These exploring economists, engineers and statisticians were mobilized in January, 1928, at the request of a subcommittee of the President's Conference on Unemployment, to carry on the third study that has grown out of that meeting in 1921. Herbert Hoover has served as chairman of this committee on Recent Economic Changes, and his name is signed to its report.

The committee, made up of seventeen leaders in industry and finance, met on an average twice a month from January, 1928, to February, 1929. Only influenza and foreign service ever kept members from the two-day meetings.

The work of the Unemployment Conference of 1921 was to define and to take stock of factors which produced the hard times that followed the post-war boom. The 1928 subcommittee was directed to take stock of the factors which have produced and sustained the relative good times since, to consider the influences making for stability, and to formulate suggestions rather than develop recommendations. The fact-finding job was done by the National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., under grants from the Carnegie Corporation and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. It was directed by Edwin F. Gay and Wesley C. Mitchell. Edward Eyre Hunt has acted as editor and executive secretary for the whole undertaking.

With the task it had been set, the committee might have organized a huge and complex research staff to produce, at the end of a decade, a five-foot shelf of weighty, accurate and "definitive" volumes. But the committee elected a quick job rather than a ponderous one, a swift look over the times in which we live in preference to a record of these years for the enlightenment of future aniquarians. The fact that data were not always available for comparable periods has made correlation of various sections of the study impossible. Vital fields which opened up as the study progressed were included, even though they lay outside the original outline.

At each of the committee meetings experts working on one or more phases of the inquiry were present, to set forth the results of research, to thresh out problems of procedure and interpretation, to indicate further lines of study.

When the committee gathered around the long conference table over which Mr. Hoover presided during most of the meetings, anything bearing on the topic under discussion was held to be germane, whether or not it had a place on the agenda for the day. Sometimes the orderly mind of scholar or financier grew a little restless under the loose procedure. But, it was insisted, the purpose of the undertaking was to release minds, not to bind them. With the stimulus of group thinking and the spur of new facts and fresh formulations, committee meetings became increasingly a forum for the exchange of vital experience, for shared vision and creative thought. One day, for example, the president of the B. and O. put forward in a discussion of farm problems, the changed viewpoint from which he has regarded railroading since the war. Said Mr. Willard:

> Before the war I had been in the habit for thirty or more years of thinking of the railroad as a sort of static thing. It occupied in general terms the field of transportation, and it never occurred to me that it could be displaced or seriously interfered with. I thought, for instance, that while we might



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## Recent Economic Changes

A reconnaissance of American land and folk during the last eight years, made under the auspices of a sponsoring committee set up in January, 1928

Herbert Hoover, *Chairman*
Walter F. Brown, *Postmaster-General*
Renick W. Dunlap, *Assistant Secretary of Agriculture*
William Green, *President, American Federation of Labor*
Julius Klein, *Assistant Secretary of Commerce*
John Lawrence, *Chairman of the board, New England Council*
Max Mason, *Director, Division of Natural Sciences, Rockefeller Foundation*
George McFadden, *Senior Manager, George H. McFadden and Brother, Philadelphia*
Adolph C. Miller, *Federal Reserve Board*
Lewis E. Pierson, *Chairman, Irving Trust Company*
John J. Raskob, *formerly Vice-President, General Motors*
A. W. Shaw, *President, McGraw-Shaw Company*
Louis J. Taber, *Master, National Grange*
Daniel Willard, *President, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad*
Clarence M. Woolley, *Chairman, American Radiator Company*
Owen D. Young, *Chairman, General Electric Company*
Edward Eyre Hunt, *Secretary*

design and build bigger cars, heavier rails and stronger locomotives, the railroad system would continue substantially as we knew it then. More recently and more particularly since the war, I have gradually come to realize that nothing is static or fixed; that everything is subject to change and to the menace of displacement. . . . Who is there who can feel sure of his economic status anywhere, at any time? . . . How do you know, Mr. Woolley, but that some day in the not distant future, ways will develop by which heat will be transmitted and disseminated where needed without the use of radiators as we understand the term today? What then will happen to the business in which you are engaged? The point I wish to make is that the problems of agriculture, which we have been discussing for the past two days, are really different only in degree from the problems which confront all other industrial and economic undertakings. . . .

Under the ringing blows of this kind of discussion, the project was hammered into shape.

In its report, based on the survey and signed by Mr. Hoover and all the group who worked with him, the Committee on Recent Economic Changes finds ten developments outstandingly characteristic of the years between 1922 and 1929 in this country. The report states them thus, drawing on research data to amplify each one:

Acceleration rather than structural change as the key to our recent economic developments;

The unevenness (geographically and industrially) of this acceleration;

The rise in the use of power, in industrial enterprise, on the farm, in the home;

The breadth of sources from which capital and credit have been available and the quickening method of their use;

The application on a broad scale of the principle of high wages and low costs as a policy of enlightened industrial practice in a period of stationary cost of living—the recognition of wage-earners as the great domestic market;

Marked increase in the physical volume of production;

The new importance of the consumer's choosing—no longer engrossed by food, shelter and clothing, he exercises his "optional purchases;"

Increased leisure;

Growth of our service industries;

Proof of the economic theory that wants are almost insatiable; that there are new wants which will make way endlessly for newer wants, as fast as they are satisfied.

In its report, the committee formulates two suggestions growing out of its study. The first is based on the realization that

Unemployment can arise as the result of industrial efficiency as well as of inefficiency. In the latter case we have seasonal or intermittent unemployment; in the former case, what has come to be known as "technological" unemployment resulting from the introduction of new machinery and processes. . . . Where progress may be working an advantage to the people as a whole, it inevitably works temporary hardship upon certain classes—those skilled workers in a trade, for example, whose work is taken over by machines. This is a serious aspect of the problem of unemployment. . . .

Such economic transformations . . . have arisen in agriculture as well as manufacturing and transportation, and they have affected employers as well as employes. There is nothing new about these problems; the accelerated rate of readjustment is what has recently engaged the attention of wage-earners and management.

Mr. Hoover and his co-workers make clear that the survey indicates, first of all, that "The time has come to devote continuing attention not only to the problems of cyclical unemployment, but also to this newer problem of 'technological' unemployment if we are to forestall hardship and uncertainty in the lives of the workers."

Second, the committee feels that "the outstanding fact which is illuminated by this survey is that we cannot maintain our economic advantage, or hope fully to realize on our economic future, unless we consciously accept the principle of equilibrium and apply it skillfully in every economic relation. . . . With certain natural resources still wastefully exploited, with great industries such as agriculture and coal-mining still below the general level of prosperity, with certain regions retarded, there remains much to do. To bring these more fully into the stream of successful economic forces is a problem of the first order."

Here, for the help of all of us, is this new Domesday Book—a picture of ourselves and our ways of livelihood, our possessions and our possibilities, our day's work and our day's pay. Those who compiled it for our information and our use and for their own, remind us that our position as a people is fortunate, our momentum in the direction of material progress remarkable. But, they also make clear, our gains and our forward movement can be maintained "only by hard, persistent, intelligent effort; by consideration and sympathy; by mutual confidence, and by a disposition in the several human parts to work in harmony together."

The reports are reviewed in the succeeding pages by outside interpreters, and crystallized in the concluding article, which Dr. Mitchell has carved out of his summary of Recent Economic Changes in American life.

## The Fact-finding Survey

Made by the National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., with the cooperation of public and private agencies

Introduction, *Edwin F. Gay*
Changes in Consumption and the Standard of Living, *Leo Wolman*
New and Old Industries, *Dexter S. Kimball*
Technical Changes in Manufacturing, *L. P. Alford*
Changing Structure of Industry, *Willard L. Thorp*
Construction, *John M. Gries*
Railroads, *William J. Cunningham*
Shipping, *E. S. Gregg*
Marketing, *Melvin T. Copeland*
Labor, *Leo Wolman*
Management, *Henry S. Dennison*
Agriculture, *Edwin G. Nourse*
Price Movements, *Frederick C. Mills*
Money and Credit, *O. M. W. Sprague and W. Randolph Burgess*
Foreign Markets and Credits, *James Harvey Rogers*
The National Income, *Morris A. Copeland*
A Review, *Wesley C. Mitchell*

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# The Farmer—and His Plight

By WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

*Drawings by Wilfred Jones for The New York Times*

GENERALLY speaking, the American farmer belongs to a hereditary caste, and a patrician caste at that. Many of his boys and girls have been leaving the farm since the beginning of time. But the boy and girl who remained on the farm remained because they liked that way of living: the independence of it. The American farmer who has always held his land in fee simple and has been a free man on his land, has been a farmer through the passing generations not because he cared for money, not because he cared for political influence, though his power was considerable, but because he liked to be his own master.

He was self-sufficient until the Civil War. He fed and clothed and housed his family off the farm, and banked his small surplus to buy the adjoining forty. His children worked seven months in the year. He himself made a hand, and often he wore out two or three wives cooking, sewing, weaving, child-bearing. But he was a free man. Back of his house, near the barn, was a tool shop. Sometimes, if he was a prosperous farmer, it contained a small forge. In the tool shop he mended and sometimes made the simple implements of his trade. His investment in machinery was small until the 1850's, and his outgo in cash for upkeep and maintenance was negligible. He could withstand siege indefinitely. The farm was an economic unit. The farmer was free.

His freedom was not seriously menaced until the close of the last century. He had his mortgage, which annoyed him and began forcing him to move west. But still he was fairly independent. His investment in machinery was growing. He bought his farm tools; the tools fell into disuse. New tools were needed. He became a borrower at the country bank, and only the rising tide of land values saved him whole. Gradually the farmer became stabilized, the farmer's profits dwindled and his ancient status changed.

Some place along the late years of the first decade of the new century, the farmer found himself confronted with the problems which annoy capitalists—interest, rent, wages, book profits, costs—and the capital structure of a new industry. These began to haunt the farmer's dreams. In his earlier amazement and confusion during the later decades of the old century, the farmer expressed his baffled wrath at a changing world in political activities. The Grangers, the Greenbackers, the Farmers' Alliance, the Populists, and later the Roosevelt policies offered to the farmer some sort of balm in Gilead. His representatives in boots and whiskers strode into state houses, tromped into Congress, influenced the White House, affected the attitude of the judiciary. But politics as a means of economic salvation in the end failed the farmer. The Great War came.

*The farmer now faces the most powerful competition of all, the robot rival*

High prices afforded him some relief. A land boom caught him in its meshes, and the collapse wiped out his profits. He began the third decade of the new century almost naked to his enemies.

Edwin G. Nourse, writing on economic changes in agriculture for Mr. Hoover's committee, makes it plain that there is before the country a serious farm problem. This problem does not arise from any one cause. It is the result of no malicious conspiracy to oppress the farmer, no ruthless combination to force him down into the level of the European peasantry. The agricultural problem, as Mr. Nourse expounds it, backing up his exposition with statistics and convincing reference, is a problem of the changing times. Economic changes have fallen heavier upon the farmer than upon any other class of American producers because farming is the least flexible of the pursuits of man. Also, by reason of his training and his economic situation, and somewhat by reason of his own desire, the farmer himself is not pliable.

TODAY, the old farmer whose grandparents told him of the log school-house, the wooden benches, the four-months school, the wood carving, the weaving, the killing and curing of beeves and hogs for home consumption, the preservation of foods for winter use, or ancient contraptions unpatented and unchanged since Ruth and Naomi gleaned in the fields of Moab—this farmer remembers those folk-tales of his independent, self-sufficient fathers, and they are as strange to him and as meaningless as the yarns in Arabian Nights, chronicles of a day that is passed.

Your American farmer of the present day is a manufacturer. His machinery is a considerable item in his investment. His land has no selling value. He must employ seasonal labor. He must meet a tremendous tax burden to sustain the complicated civilization which has grown up around him and robbed him of his independence. He must keep pace with the new world into which he has been set a pilgrim and a stranger. His children must have an eight-months school and a highschool in every township. Within six miles of the average American farm is a picture show, and in the Mississippi Valley on every farm is a telephone,



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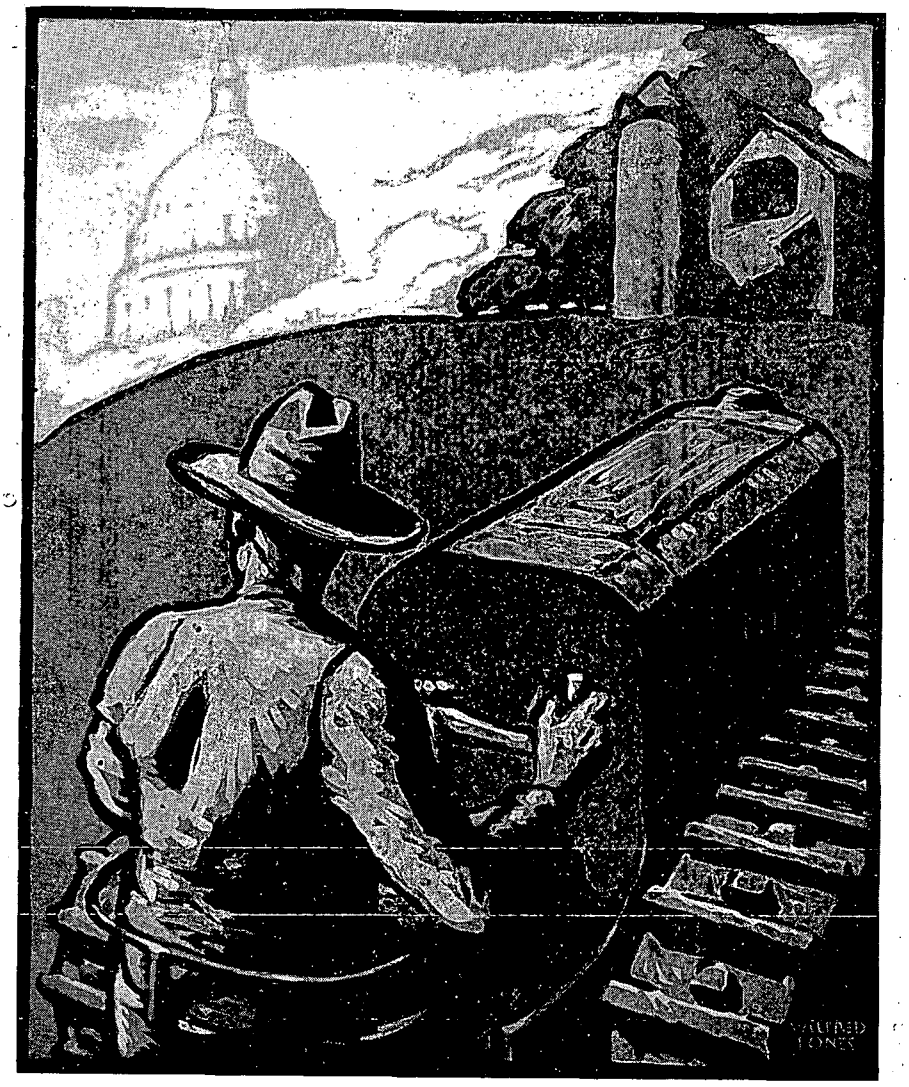

*The farmer looks to Washington*

and on practically every farm is some sort of an automobile. Where there were nearly one hundred thousand tractors sold in the United States in 1918, there are now in use eight hundred thousand. Of the twenty-two million automobiles in America, at least five million are owned by farmers. The combination of the harvester and the thresher, an expensive machine which can be operated economically only upon a farm of five hundred acres or more, is called the combine. Between thirty-five and forty thousand of these machines are in use on American farms today. The radio, part toy and part market reporter supplementing the telephone, will be found in a few years in every farm house. The phonograph is there now, as common as the cabinet organ was in the last quarter of the old century.

These things—farm tools, means of communication, transportation, and diversion—are not luxuries. They are necessities in a new world. The farmer can no more ignore them than he can prosper without hard-surfaced roads. He cannot go back to the older order. He cannot rotate his crops—oats, corn, and meadow land—because the decreasing demand for oats and grass has come inexorably as horses have disappeared from the cities and are disappearing from the farms. What will eat the oats and the hay? He must find other methods of renewing his soil than the old rotation of his fathers. In a mechanical age the farmer cannot defy the machine. And when the machine comes on the farm, it brings with it interest and more taxes and maintenance and care and expert operation.

The farmer is no more independent today than the textile manufacturer. The farmer grows little of his own food. He does not see his wheat, after the combine enters the field. It does not pay his wife even to bake his bread. His cattle are slaughtered a hundred and sometimes a thousand miles from the farm, and no wool has been carded and woven into cloth on a typical American farm for more than two generations. He is lucky if he saves his own cream. And certainly he no longer makes his own cheese. His chickens and eggs are about the only vestige of the farmer's animal food that is grown on the farm.

Behold the industrialist, somewhat laborer, somewhat manufacturer, somewhat borrower in spite of himself, deeply cooperative, his independence gone, his freedom a memory. He turns to the government, and gets only more taxes. He turns to the banker, who is as hard pressed from above as the farmer, and finds his interest rates soaring. The government for the moment turns banker, but relieves the farmer only a little. He looks to the industrial worker and finds him pounding farm prices down that he may have cheaper food. So the farmer, being resentful, frowns on child labor laws which the industrial worker demands that he may keep his children out of the factories.

Because he moves slowly, because he cannot join the tendency of the times and establish high wages, small profits, quick turnover, and mass production, the farmer is like Ishmael. Every man's hand is against the slow-moving unit in a quick-stepping world. He cannot step faster, however he would like to do so. For the farmer requires a year for his crop turnover. Droughts and floods eating into his gross production compel the farmer to seek large profits on his slow turnover, and he must pay small wages if he survives. The royal independence of his grandfather, the farmer of today has traded off for what?—Isolation! Even in politics he is in the minority. He no longer controls the Congress, and in less than a score of states has he the majority in any legislature.

Yet he must go on. He must fight his fight, adapt himself to the new conditions in a changing world. To tell the truth, and in this chapter on agriculture Mr. Nourse does tell the truth admirably, the farmer has been adapting himself as best he can. He has changed as fast as possible. But, alas, the farmer cannot change as fast as the times are changing. He has speeded up production. He has increased his product and to an extent decreased its cost, but not fast enough to prevent falling prices made necessary by many elements in the economic situation.

The American farmer is competing with European and South American peasants, and he will not be a peasant. He has a standard of living which he must maintain. And there is the battle-ground of the farmer. He will stand and fight

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for his living standards, which are higher than the standards of any other farmer in the world. He will not take his family to town in a two-wheeled cart. He will not work his family in the fields when the children should be in school. He will not deny them highschool education. He will not clothe them in peasant garb. He will eat what the city man eats, meat two or three times a day, vegetables the year round, sometimes shot full of a thousand miles of rail transportation. He demands his picture show. He *will* listen to the radio. He *will* turn on the phonograph. He *will* talk across the fields to his neighbors and his market town by telephone. He *will* ride in his own car upon a hard-surfaced road, and have his daily paper and his weekly magazine, and his book, and his yearly trip in the family Ford. In these demands for an American living standard, he is only asking what the industrial worker enjoys, what the school teacher, and the preacher, and the country lawyer and doctor require. The American farmer will not be declassed.

He has what no other farmer has ever had before in the age-old struggle of the peasant against the baron. The American farmer has the ballot and he uses it. If he does not control a majority, he makes a balance of power. He forms blocs. He knows the game. He is organized fairly well politically. He does not know how to solve his problem. The farmer's problem will not be solved until he has:

First, cheaper transportation, which probably must come by waterways rather than by reduced rail rates;

Second, better marketing facilities, which will come somewhat through using state and federal agencies to overcome the farmer's traditional inability to organize effectively;

Third, better credit facilities, which will enable him to hold his crops out of glutted markets;

Fourth, new farm methods, which mean the further use of machinery, the saving of waste, the readaptation of land to changing crops and markets;

And fifth, a gradual re-organization of his economic status so that farming will no longer become a way of life as his grandfathers knew it, but a means of living. Farming must be more of a business and less of a career. When the farmer loses his sentimental feeling for the soil, a noble vocation of man will pass, but with its passing will come a more definite economic security. The patrician caste will probably go and a rather cold-blooded business man must come to the American farm.

No one knows how to solve the farmer's problems by ukase or proclamation. Neither business nor government alone can do it. But this the farmer does know, that the answer to his problem cannot come on any other basis than that he must continue to receive his share of the common wealth which his labor makes. He must live up to the American standard. How he can do this, no economist can tell. If the law of supply and demand is to work inexorably, a little figuring will show that the problem cannot be solved in the farmer's favor, but the law of supply and demand has been weakened in America. Our vast economic surplus has enabled us one way or another through public credit or private enterprise, or the benevolences of Croesus, to have what we will, when we will, and how we will, on this continent. And the farmer, embattled behind his ballot box, has no great fear of defeat.

# The Worker—and His Gains

By EVANS CLARK

IN all of recorded time no people have seen with their own eyes so complete a transformation in their surroundings and way of life as middle-aged American workingmen. In this land of miraculous change the American worker has been closer than anyone else both to the miracle and the change. Not only has he played his part in working the wonder; but, because he has lived closer to the edges of reality than the more protected classes, its effect has swung the orbit of his life further from its accustomed line. A new car means more to the clerk in the chain grocery store, who never owned one before, than to the president of the company whose garages have housed a dozen for years.

Here in the Hoover Committee's Report is a statistical table. One of the columns of figures is headed "average labor income per employe in 1925 dollars." In this column are listed index numbers which show the changes in the purchasing power of the average American employe, year by year, from 1913 to 1927. Opposite the year 1919 is the figure 92. Opposite the year 1927 is the figure 122.

It is probable that no two figures could be found in the world's storehouse of statistics that represent greater human gains than these. They show that "real wages" and salaries have increased from 92 to 122, or 33 per cent, in the United States in the last eight years for which the figures are available. This is the statistical way of saying that the frontiers of life for the average American employe have been widened by one-third of their original boundaries toward the complete circle of his needs and his desires. Translate that fact into the personal terms of 35,000,000 individuals —and the many more millions dependent on them—and one gets a faint glimmer of what these two figures mean in America today.

They mean that every time the average American worker opened his pay envelope in 1927 he could go out and buy 33 per cent more with the money he found in it than he could have bought eight years before. And there is no evidence in the committee's report that in the year and a half which has gone by since then he has lost any ground. If anything, he has probably gained a bit.

The spread between 92 and 122 explains the descent of close to a quarter of a billion automobiles onto the highways of the United States—one car for every sixth man, woman and child in the country; eight million radio sets into American homes and 14,000,000 bath-tubs into its city and town houses; the connection and interconnection of approximately every other dwelling by telephone (one in every 2.5) and the electrification of 80 per cent of American homes, exclusive of farms, for lighting, cleaning, cooking, dish-washing and a dozen other forms of what used to be manual labor.

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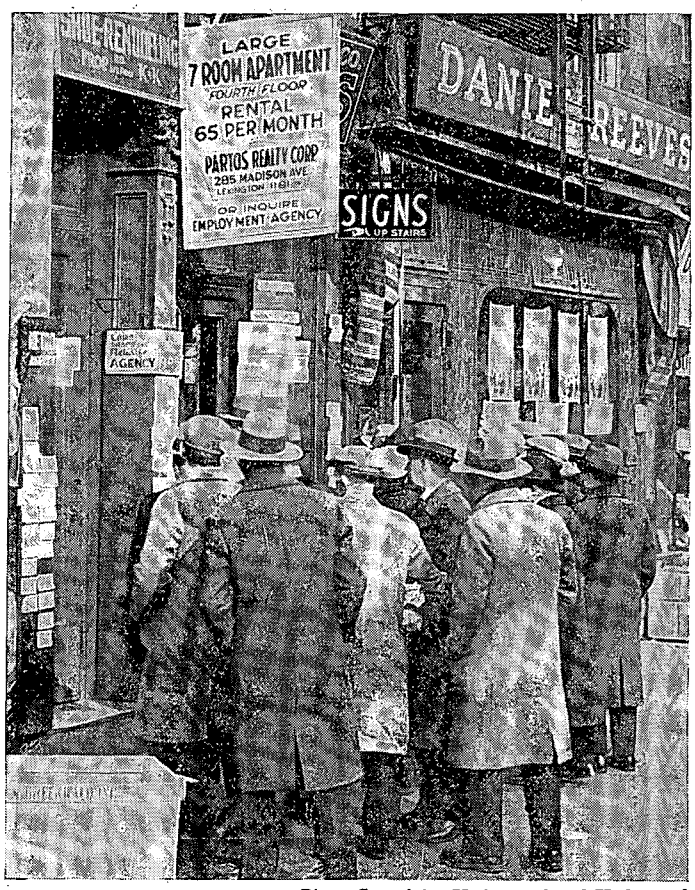


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*Unemployment keeps growing numbers of workers at the doors of the "help wanted" agencies*

The gap between 92 and 122 largely explains an increase of 36 per cent in household furniture and 67 per cent in carpets and rugs; a consumption of water—always an index of sanitation—that is from two to three times as great for each person in America as in the cities of Europe and an urban dwelling flush-toilet installation ratio of 84 in every 100.

While the committee was giving comparisons with other countries, it might well have cited the figures compiled by the International Labor Office of the League of Nations which show that the American worker can buy twice as much with his weekly wages as the workingman in London, and four times as much as the workingman in Rome.

Nor are the gains to be measured solely in material terms. The expenditure of the American people for general education increased 250 per cent between 1914 and 1926—a 900 per cent gain for highschool and a 350 per cent increase for free college and university education. And, in the same period, public health and recreation expenditures increased over 140 per cent.

While these figures cover all classes of the population, it has obviously been into the lap of the American wage-earner that the contents of this horn of plenty have been mostly poured. He and his wife and children make up the majority of our urban population; and it may be safely assumed, the propertied classes were already possessed of sufficient of these primary goods and services for them to be a relatively small factor anyway in these statistics of American gains.

This is as good a place as any, however, to blur the idyllic picture of the average American workingman by pointing out that "there ain't no such animal." He is merely a statistical abstraction without flesh or blood. It takes all kinds to make an average. Most individual American workingmen are either better off or worse than the average of them all. To say that the average American worker can buy one-third more with his weekly pay than he did is to say that the plumber can buy perhaps half as much again, while the cotton-mill hand cannot buy as much.

The economic status of the average American employe is made up of the prosperity of the workers in the building, clothing and printing trades, the automobile factories and repair shops, the rubber works and steel mills, and of the poverty of the textile workers, the soft coal miners and the hired farm hands. Leo Wolman's figures on wages in the coal fields, for example, show a reduction in hourly earnings—not allowing for chronic unemployment—of from 85 cents in 1922 to 75 cents in 1926; and, he adds, "wages throughout the industry are lower now than they were in 1926." Wages in the men's clothing industry, on the other hand, increased 188 per cent from 1913 to 1926.

Recent newspaper and magazine articles on labor troubles in the southern cotton mills disclose an area of poverty and over-work, of destitution and suffering, that stands out in stark contrast with the well-fed complacency of the building trades workers. They remind one of the early days of the Industrial Revolution in England which the self-satisfied American, in these days of our "plenty," looks back upon with horror. So also with the soft coal fields into which, from time to time, the public peeps through the eyes of some newspaper reporter sent into these human wastes to get a feature story. American prosperity is real; but it is decidedly "spotty."

WHILE the benefits of increased wages have been unevenly distributed among different groups of workers, even the cotton mill hands enjoy shorter hours of labor—when they work at all. Striking another average—this time a little less deceptive—the American workingman puts in five hours less a week on his job than he did before the war. The prevailing work-week is now about fifty hours; but some of the highly unionized trades, like construction, are on a forty to forty-four-hour basis. Labor in the steel mills has shown the greatest reduction: from sixty-six hours a week in 1913 to fifty-four in 1926. Not only does the average worker get more money than he did, but he has more leisure in which to spend it.

With comparative prosperity and leisure, however, the past years have brought increased unemployment to American labor. In spite of an almost continuous record of "good times" for business as a whole the average worker has been more than ever out of work.

Although apparently contradictory, both the prosperity of those American workers who happen to be employed in the more modernized industries and their growing difficulty in finding any job at all are fruits, good and bad, of the same economic tree. The cause of one is the cause of the other; and in it lies the secret of most of America's material achievement: a phenamenal increase in the amount which the average American workingman can produce.

Lumping all industries together, the output per person engaged in them increased 39 per cent in the six years between 1919 and 1925 alone, and 22 per cent in the one year of 1922. That the percentage should be so nearly the same as that which represents the increase in the worker's purchasing power is not due to chance. It reflects the direct connection between production and prosperity. It is statistical proof that labor will gain more in the long run by doing

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what it can to increase its own productivity—provided it gets a fair share in the resulting benefits—than merely to fight with capital over a division of present profits.

As might be expected from the unequal prosperity of workers in different industries, the figures show a wide variation in the increased productivity of labor. In automobile factories, for example, the average worker turned out 120 per cent more in 1925 than he had in 1919; but in ship-building the figures show an actual decrease, and in textiles the increase was only 14 per cent.

LABOR in America today is faced with this situation: each worker can turn out so much more now than he used to in a day's work that the business which employs him can, and does, produce a much greater volume of goods with an actual reduction of its pay-roll. Dr. Mitchell estimates that in spite of an increase of about 25 per cent in the output of American factories, 825,000 fewer workers were actually employed in 1927 than in 1920.

A large number of those displaced found work in other fields—in hotels, garages, moving-picture houses, professional offices, and so on; but "the supply of new jobs has not been equal to the number of new workers, plus the old workers displaced." And "hence there has been a net increase of unemployment between 1920 and 1927 which exceeds 650,000 people."

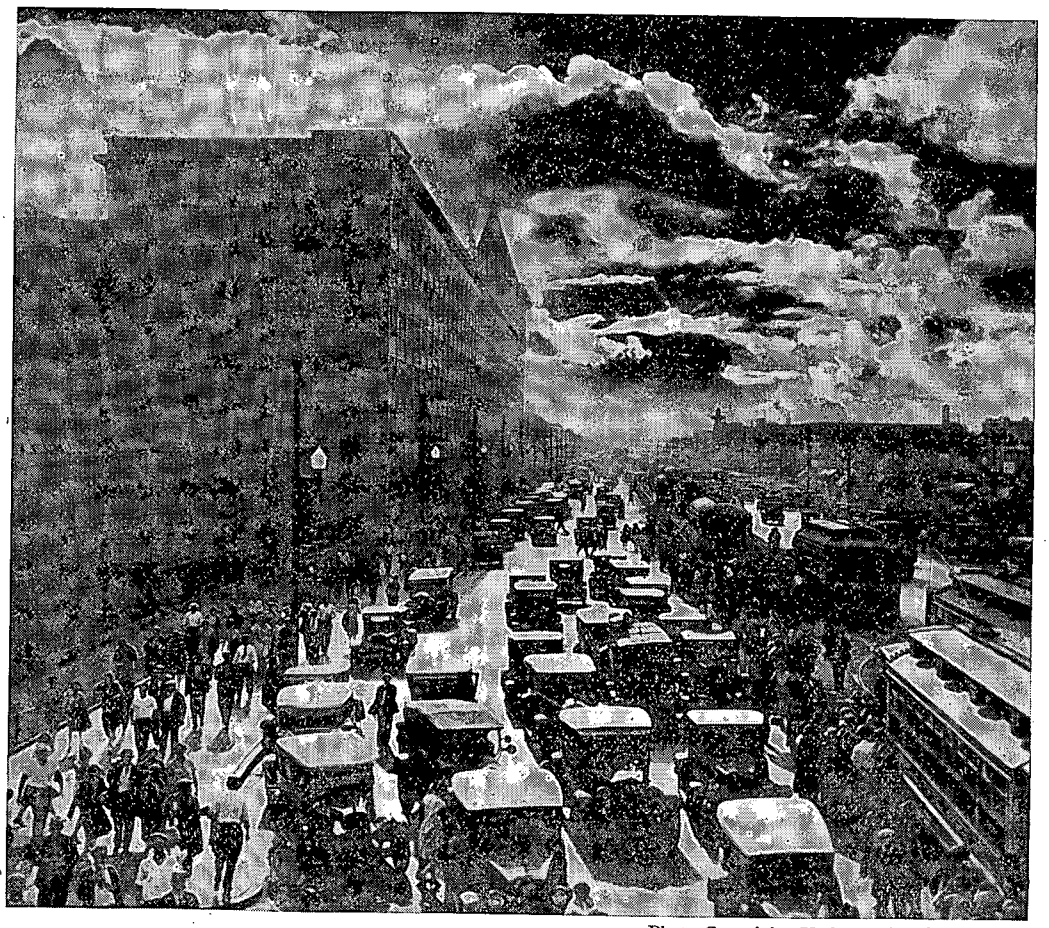
But this explanation of the worker's prosperity and unemployment needs, of course, still further explanation. The heart of the matter lies in the causes of the increase in labor's productivity. This, however, does not fall within the scope of this article, for it has been due primarily not to labor, but to management and capital. The average worker as a producing organism is not 39 per cent more efficient in himself—although there is some variation depending on employment conditions and the fear of lay-off. In the main he can turn out more work because he has been given better machinery and more power to work with and because his boss has ordered his working life so as to eliminate waste and lost motion at every turn.

The secret of America's success today, therefore, is scientific management rather than scientific labor. As a matter of fact, these changes can be looked upon, as Dean Kimball points out, as an actual transfer of skill from the worker to the machine. The labor performed by the machine-hand becomes increasingly specialized and stereotyped as the efficiency of methods and mechanisms is improved.

From one angle the prosperity of the worker can be expressed in terms of horsepower—the amount of mechanical energy which each worker has been given to command. It has been figured out that the horsepower per worker in the United States was 4.3 in 1925 and that it has increased 33 per cent (again the one-third growth) since 1914. The relation between power and plenty is well illustrated by Dr. Kimball's remark that "the per-capita wealth in the United States bears the same ratio to the per-capita wealth in Great Britain that the total per-capita horsepower here does to the per-capita horsepower there."

So much for the causes of the workingman's unprecedented situation. The results are more difficult to measure and next to impossible to evaluate. One fact stands out above everything else: labor today is almost docile compared with labor ten years ago. Into the gap between 92 and 122, which represents the gain in the workingman's purchasing power, the radical movement has sunk practically out of sight and out of mind. The only numerical indices of this subsidence of industrial unrest which the committee gives are the figures on industrial disputes. During the five years of 1916 to 1921 there were, on the average, three strikes or lockouts for every one in the four years 1922 to 1926 and three times as many employes were involved. In 1919, for example, five times as many disputes were recorded as in 1927 involving ten times as many disputants.

With this decline in the aggressiveness of labor has come, also—probably both as cause and effect—a decline in the membership of American trade unions. According to figures collected by Ruth Budinoff of the Labor Bureau, Inc.,



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*While the prosperity of the wage-earner who happens to be employed fills streets around big industrial plants with workers' cars at quitting time*

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American labor organizations had 1,200,000 fewer members in 1927 than they had at the peak of their success in 1920, —a decline of about 20 per cent. The greatest falling off, however, occurred in 1921 and 1922. Since then there has been a slight increase in membership, although in proportion to total population the number of workers organized has declined even of late years.

Such, very sketchily etched, are the outward and visible signs of the changes that have come upon the American worker. As to its inner and spiritual significance we can at best debate and speculate. The radical concentrates his attention on the remaining areas of poverty and suffering. For the rest, he points to the declining interest the worker takes in the control of economic destiny—to the Communist and Socialist an irreparable loss. But the apologist for things as they are retorts that this very apathy proves the worker really wants only enough money to make his life richer outside the work-shop and enough leisure to enjoy it. As for the backward areas of industry, the apologist pleads for time. With the modernization of textiles, coal and farming will come prosperity for labor in those fields, with greater prosperity all around. And, as for unemployment, he maintains that American ingenuity has solved knottier problems than that. But a problem it obviously remains.

# The Manager—and His Incipient Art

By ERNEST G. DRAPER

TWENTY or thirty years ago, "business standards were characterized by the phrase 'business is business,' with the implication that whatever means succeeded were the right ones." Those were the days when the cigar-chewing, back-slapping, boys-have-yer-heard-this-one type of salesman was in the ascendant. The sales manager was little more than a glorified salesman who was a past master at "being friendly with the trade." In spite of this over-friendliness among salesmen, an air of secrecy and mystery enshrouded business procedure. Deals were put through on the quiet and what happened in the way of extra compensation between inside purchasing agent and outside manufacturer was not spread on the record. How old-fashioned and out-dated it sounds! Its very aspect of antiquity indicates that there has been a real advance. Henry S. Dennison, one of the country's notable industrial managers, is positive of this advance. In the section on management which he prepared for the Hoover survey of Recent Economic Changes, he unfolds a graphic panorama of what has transpired in this field since the war.

Anyone out of grammar school can write on present-day business management, just as anyone can write something or other on art or justice or bird life in the Rockies. The point is, of course, that what they write reduces the world stock of good white paper, and achieves nothing more. Not one person in a million—I think the ratio should really be one person in ten million—could summarize his findings on the subject with the brevity, fairness and discernment which Mr. Dennison has applied.

If you are a super-business man and calculate precisely that you have just fourteen minutes to give to the subject, I suggest you stop reading this brief summary and read the chapter itself. I venture to say that your experience will more or less parallel mine. When the manuscript was given to me for review, my thoughts ran about like this:

"Here is a piece of research which is probably tightly written, somewhat abstruse, filled with figures and (I am ashamed to admit the thought) maybe rather dry. Instead of attempting to read it at one or two sittings, I think I shall divide it into sections and read twenty pages a day. If I find the going too hard, I can cut my daily assignment to fifteen pages."

What happened? I read twenty-five pages on the train to Stamford, six pages on the Elevated, three pages in a taxi-cab and one page at the corner of Madison Avenue and Thirty-eighth Street while waiting for the policeman's whistle. That was the first day. On the second day, I finished it at one sitting. And now, while turning it over in my mind, I realize that there was not one trivial or irrelevant word in that chapter. It was a task, finely conceived and almost perfectly accomplished. No manager should fail to drink deep at this Pierian spring of business experience.

In considering the development of the new art of business management in the brief decade since the war, Mr. Dennison pictures first the changes forced upon managers, or made of our own free will—changes that at first appear almost unbelievable in their scope and influence. They involve in the first place, a change of attitude toward business by business managers themselves. Mr. Dennison says: "The last few years have been extremely favorable in many ways for the development of those intellectual, moral and social attitudes which lead toward high professional standing. The situation of today holds all the opportunity anyone could desire for the wholesome development of business management into a great profession."

WHEN business broke its chrysalis of pettiness and cast off its sense of inferiority, much of the old *caveat emptor* attitude was swept away. The speculative guess-work, shrewd as it often was, succumbed to the newer, more scientific approach. As science and research crept into business management, more and more thoughtful men were attracted to a study of its problems. Dr. Thomas Nixon Carver of Harvard wittily described an aspect of this change when he wrote: "Our millionaires are not, as a rule, fat-necked, pot-bellied and pop-eyed; they are generally lean men who might easily be mistaken for hard-working students who burn much midnight oil. They seem to suggest a diet of crackers and milk rather than of rich viands and costly wines."

What has been the effect upon business management of the gradual change in attitude during the past decade? The change has shown its influence in all the fundamentals and in most of the details of modern business methods. In the set-up of business administration, greater emphasis has been placed upon a better functioning internal structure. Instead of the previous one-man control there has been a decided

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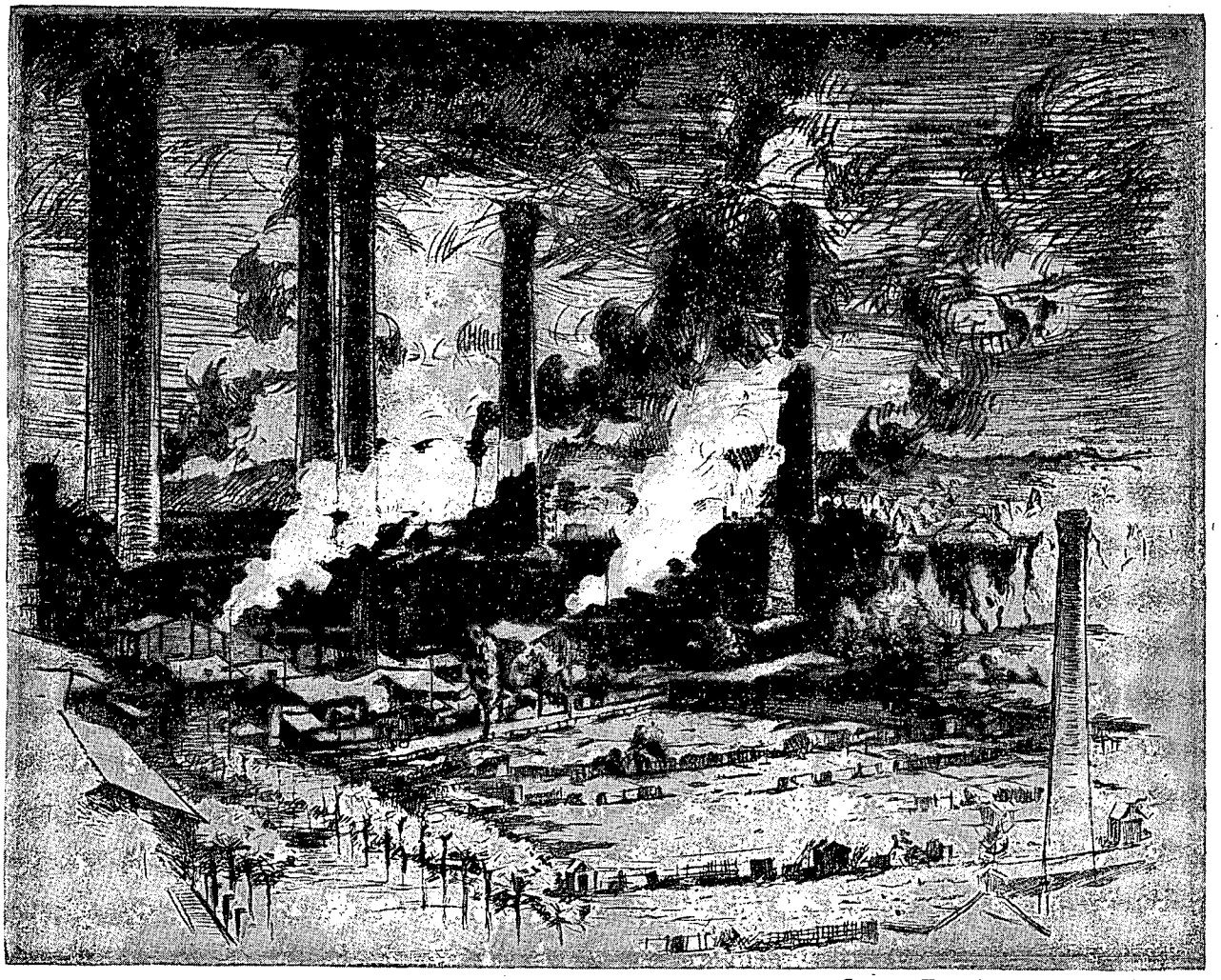
tendency to functionalize and coordinate. Research men, staff men, personnel men, operating men cannot effectively carry on their work without knowing how their particular problems fit into the organism as a whole. And so the team-work of committees is called into play in order to correlate these various activities. Curiously enough, there appears to be less use of committees in very large and very small companies. This is understandable in the case of very small concerns but not so clear in the case of very large ones.

A totally new set of activities has come into being in the field of executive control. They include a study of executive technique itself, planning the future course of the company, budgeting sales, manufacturing and office requirements, and a number of other like refinements which were unheard of before the days of hand-to-mouth buying. As Mr. Dennison aptly puts it, "Modern hand-to-mouth buying has made hand-to-mouth thinking impossible."

In the field of manufacturing, the advance has been even more marked. Productivity has increased, not because workers have been driven harder but because of "the introduction of new machines, the better internal arrangement of factories, more rigid specification of quality of materials, changes in the basic attitude between employer and employe, shortened learning periods and reduced labor turnover." Mr. Dennison then makes a significant statement: "There could be found no single impelling force which drove management to its recent rapid technical progress, though well up in the list stands the influence of higher wages."

A glance at the recent past will show how true this statement is. You remember that soon after the Armistice was signed, employers everywhere started an agitation for lower wages. "We must 'liquidate labor'," they said. The demand became more and more insistent until a real offensive was launched against the labor unions under the so-called American Open-Shop Plan. The campaign failed. Wages remained high. Industry was temporarily at a stand-still; then, let it be said to the great credit of employers, a super-human effort was made to have the wheels of industry turn in spite of these same high wages. They have been turning faster and faster, ever since. The faster they have turned, the lower costs have become. High wages, then, which were to plunge our industries into bankruptcy in 1921 are now seen to be by far the most important cause of our present industrial boom in 1929. Owen D. Young in a recent speech said:



Courtesy Kennedy and Company, New York

WORKS

*Etching by Robert Logan*

Slowly we are learning that low wages for labor do not necessarily mean high profits for capital. We are learning that an increasing wage level is wholly consistent with a diminishing price level. We are learning that productivity of labor is not measured alone by the hours of work, nor even by the test of physical fatigue in a particular job. When zest

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departs, labor becomes drudgery. When exhaustion enters, labor becomes slavery.

IN spite of our remarkable technological advance, the problem of what to do with displaced and unused labor still remains. The statement is true that never before have so many laborers received such high wages, if you add the clause—"while they are working." When they are not working (which is frequent), the situation for them soon becomes critical. This is the heart of the problem. Probably never before in the history of civilized mankind, has the job of the unskilled laborer been more a matter of hazard than it is today. Loss of his job may be exacted at any moment. He holds it from day to day and from hour to hour. He is usually replaced with ease by hundreds of others, anxious to supplant him. The nature of present-day industry is such as to make large scale unemployment almost inevitable. Labor is grouped into gigantic, independent units and into sub-division of processes so that a collapse in one unit or a slowing down in another can cause widespread dislocation of employment. Periods of prosperity and depression are general, not local. What chances has the individual, unskilled laborer to cope with conditions such as these? Managers are vitally interested in these conditions as a business problem *per se* because laborers are consumers as well as producers. When the worker's income ceases, the country's buying power is, by that amount, impaired.

Marketing management has passed through the same cycle toward closer control and more scientific co-ordination as have manufacturing and business administration. Selling costs have increased, to be sure, but largely because of more extensive research and more refined analysis of selling territories as well as because of keener competition.

The number of mergers has increased, especially since 1922, but there is no evidence to show that large-scale operation is as effective in bringing about economies as has been claimed. The facts appear to indicate that often these potential economies are more than offset by losses in efficiency.

SOME of Mr. Dennison's conclusions have been arrived at by other routes. Professor Dexter S. Kimball's chapter on Changes in New and Old Industries and Professor Willard F. Thorp's section on The Changing Structure of Industry set forth in elaborate detail many of the facts which Mr. Dennison merely mentions or discusses at considerable length. It all comes to the same result. Producing and marketing management have been profoundly influenced by the aftermath of war and the change in the price curve that came as one of the war's results.

The survey covers a wide variety of other trends, particularly those in advertising as a whole, merchandising, office management, personnel work, association activities, employe stock representation, and the like. They raise too many queries to be discussed in my allotted space.

There is one criticism—and only one—which I am able to make of this survey. It is that the emphasis has been placed almost entirely upon the favorable aspects of business management. There is little or no discussion of strikes, of unfair practices by certain types of employers, or even a short mention of such break-downs in management as now exist in the coal and other industries. Our prosperity has its darker side. If we managers are to be scientists in the best sense of the word, we must face the shadows as well as bathe in the sunlight of our good deeds. Only so can we cut our way to the core of each difficulty.

Even if this criticism is valid, it affects only to a slight degree all the illuminating experience which has been crowded into the pages of this chapter. No one can read these pages without being acutely aware of the fact that business management is taking its rank among the important arts of today and tomorrow. Management, "the continuous adjustment and steering of our business machinery," is becoming more complex, more concerned with conflicting needs and purposes. If that means anything, it means that a higher and higher order of intelligence is necessary to cope with the type of problems with which managers are now faced.

WHETHER we like it or not, we might as well admit that industrialism is here to stay, at least during our lives, and the face of the world will be made over in accordance with the trends of a more or less mechanized society. We still have it within our power to steer these trends toward a more happy and creative life for huge masses of mankind, or let the wheels revolve at will and the devil take the hindmost.

Honestly thoughtful people are at our heels, questioning, criticizing, condemning us. If management is to come of age and rank with other noble arts, we must recognize our obligation. This is no time to pursue entirely our selfish ends while practices, foreign to our aspirations, are becoming crystallized in the business fabric. We must plunge ourselves wholeheartedly into the rough-and-tumble struggle and hope that, by our efforts, there may emerge a fairer world in which to live and move and have our being.

# The Merchant—and His New Plural Forms

By ROBERT W. BRUÈRE

THE merchant opens the door to Mr. Copeland's section on Marketing. He is not the merchant of the dictionary. He is the quite recent merchant, or "merchandiser," evolved out of the science of management as applied to the problems of distribution. By definition he is Henry S. Dennison's merchant and therefore a "functional" merchant. His role in the marketing process is at once so important and so recently recognized that Mr. Copeland hails him as "one of the most noteworthy marketing developments during the period."

Certainly he is by all odds the most interesting development recorded in the pages of this study, for he is the only one discussed in terms of function. We shall find records of new commodities that have come into the market, from radio sets to electrical refrigerators, of shifts in fashions, of installment selling and hand-to-mouth buying, of chain stores and cooperative marketing associations; but with incidental

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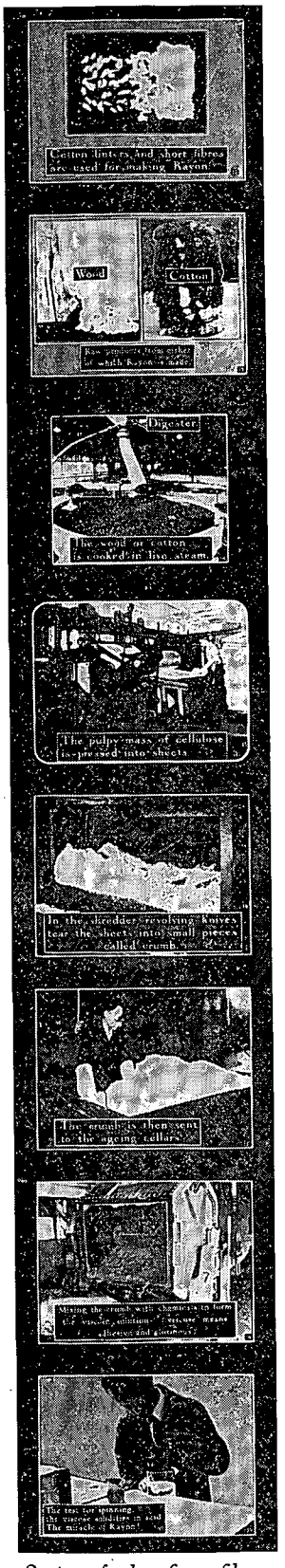
exceptions they will be purely quantitative records,—numbers of refrigerators, numbers of bushels or pounds sold, percentage of commodity distributed by chain and unit stores; but not again shall we be told what special function in the national marketing organism installment selling, or cooperative marketing associations, or chain stores subserve. Never again shall we have time in the hurried marshalling of quantitative statistics out of trade journals, research studies and government reports, to stop and ask this or that variant from the art of the primitive bartering trader: What do you do and how did you get that way?

Mr. Copeland, in his definition, paraphrases Mr. Dennison. But I particularly like those sentences in Mr. Dennison's statement before the Taylor Society in December, 1927, in which he lets you see his merchandiser in process of evolution:

> In the history of the professions there is a noticeable trend from generalization to specialization and ultimately to coordination of the two. Thus years ago the field of engineering consisted of only one branch. In time civil engineers were separated from the main branch purely as a matter of convenience, to distinguish the activities of surveyors in civil life from surveyors who were part of the military. And then the Industrial Revolution, and later the recognition of the line and staff principle as applied to the factory system, broke up the engineering profession into about as many units of specialization as there are staff functions to be performed. . . .
>
> Sales management has repeated the essentials of the history of engineering. Out of the functions that have evolved from the general field of management, there is to be recognized one as standing as a coordinating force between the job of selling goods and the job of manufacturing the goods to be sold. The function which has been so separated is, in general, to provide that the goods manufactured are of proper quality and in proper varieties, in sufficient quantities, and sold at prices best suited to the market. This is the function which we of the Dennison Manufacturing Company term merchandising.

If one could penetrate the wall of quantitative statistics and get at the *why* of the existence of cooperative marketing associations, chain stores and the like in terms of economic functions, we should be able to judge in what direction and to what purpose recent economic changes are tending. Certainly the development of the "merchandiser," in terms of Mr. Dennison's definition, is clear gain and justifies Mr. Copeland's observation that it is a noteworthy development in the field of marketing. I have a feeling that some analogous and equally significant functional developments account for the growth of installment selling and of chain store distribution. But to foot up the mere volume of installment buying, or of chain store sales, leaves us in the dark as to whether we are confronting real advances in the functional evolution of the marketing organism, or whether it is again a case of mere bigness trampling down quality.


Cotton lints & short fibres are used for making Rayon
Wood
Cotton
Disaster
The pulpy mass of cellulose is pressed into sheets
In the shredder revolving knives tear the sheets into small pieces called crumb
The crumb is then sent to the ageing cellars
Mixing the crumb with chemicals to form the viscose solution
The tax for spinning the viscose solution to make Rayon

*Strip of the first film—about rayon—of the National Retail Dry Goods Association for training the salesforces of its member stores*

By his early recognition of the economic and social importance of the rise of the merchant as already defined, Mr. Copeland has himself prompted these observations. Taking his collection of materials on marketing as a whole—and it is an impressive collection—one is struck by the absence in the available literature of data which would permit the appraisal of recent economic changes in the field of commodity distribution in terms of function. Here the merchandiser stands alone. After introducing him, Mr. Copeland is constrained by the limitation of time and material to tell us *what* has happened rather than why.

There are the spectacular changes in demand which have come with spectacular invention. "Radio sets furnish the outstanding example of a new type of merchandise placed on the market with an almost phenomenally rapid increase in demand." From the roofs of tenements on New York's lower East Side as well as from ranches and towns, radio antennae proclaim the magic of a new art and a new industry. On the other side of the ledger stands the record of the declining fortunes of one of the oldest of industries. In woolen and worsted factories, equipped to manufacture enough cloth for ankle-length garments, machines stood idle as women raised their skirts from ankle to knee. Furs came in with silk hosiery and further curtailed the demand for woolens. In 1927 the consumption of woolen and worsted fabrics amounted to only $656,000,000 as compared with a manufacturing capacity of $1,750,000,000.

Between these extremes, electrical household appliances kept in steadily increasing demand. Here the electrical refrigerator was the most conspicuous boomer, increasing in numbers from 27,000 in January, 1923, to 755,000 in January, 1928. In spite of their equally great convenience, electrical cooking ranges have made no comparable advance. There is obviously here some unrevealed correlation between appliances in use and the cost of electricity to the domestic consumer. Electricity as a commodity and the methods and terms of its distribution do not come within the scope of Mr. Copeland's study.

The capacity of the American public to buy automobiles would seem to be limitless. In his study of transportation, W. J. Cunningham records that the public investment in motor vehicles and hard-surfaced roads now exceeds its investment in railways and railroad equipment. The number of employes in the automotive industry and highway transportation exceeds those engaged in railway service. Whatever tends to strengthen the automobile industry has very wide incidental effects on scores of other industries. Mr. Copeland notes as one of the outstanding marketing developments the shift from the open to the closed car and its all-year-round use, which have not

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only greatly increased the demand for plate glass, upholstery materials, gasoline, lubricants and tires, but have also created an almost new market for alcohol, glycerine and other non-freezing preparations.

INVENTION, of course, as in the case of the radio and the electric ice machine, is a foremost factor in developing new demands. It is the difficult business of the *merchant* to appraise the availability of such devices from the point of view of the consumer. But an element in the marketing situation which puts a severer test upon his skill as an appraiser and prophet of demand is that intangible, capricious thing, style or fashion. "Without belittling the need for economy in production, the experience of recent years has especially emphasized the fact that the first requisite to success for an individual company or an industry is to be able to cater effectively to the demands of customers." Let the tide of fashion begin to run against a commodity, neither price-cutting nor advertising can stop it. Once it began to run to fancy prints, gingham cloth became a drug on the market. Novelty styles in women's shoes swept black kid shoes into the discard. Mr. Copeland does not go into the question as to the extent to which these irrational shifts in demand are fostered by the manufacturer and merchant themselves. These whimsical changes in fashion may some day turn out to be less whimsical than to the uninitiate they now appear.

Automobiles and hard-surfaced highways are urbanizing the country-side, widening trading and shopping areas and changing the buying habits of consumers everywhere. The cross-roads and village stores are disappearing with the fourth-class post-offices. The average trading area for consumers outside of the urban districts has been increased by the automobile from five or six miles to thirty or one hundred and fifty miles. This widening of the shopping radius has tended to develop specialization in merchandising—using that term here in the ordinary dictionary sense—and has begun to give a metropolitan air to the main street in the county court-house town or other flourishing trade centers. Mail-order houses have felt the change as well as the cross-roads store to such an extent that the largest of them have recently launched chains of retail stores. Not only do the "chains" grow in response to the widening shopping radius, but they themselves are a factor in drawing customers from afar. Independent retailers are quoted as saying that their sales have increased and their customers have come from greater distances since the chains opened up shop.

MR. COPELAND discusses the chains at considerable length as among the most significant of recent marketing developments, although the oldest of the present chain store systems is more than fifty years old. He seems to share the apprehension of the small independent merchant that the chains are examples of size destroying quality. While "no data are available on the changes in the number of unit stores," he assumes that the chains have been displacing unit stores because they "have expanded more rapidly than general business." In accounting for this growth, he stresses the fact that the period since 1922 has been one of price competition and that chain stores have thrived on price competition. As their volume of sales increased, they were able, he says, to exert pressure on manufacturers in highly competitive markets and thus to secure special concessions and discounts, advertising allowances and the like. Among the external influences affecting their growth, he notes the influx of new capital resulting from the activity of investment bankers in promoting chains in order to obtain securities for sale during the stock market boom. This activity of investment bankers in the chain-store field was particularly great in 1926 and 1927, the years during which the growth of the chains was most rapid.

Do such inferences explain the growth of the chains? Or is that growth in part at least to be accounted for by the evolution in the chains of new functional developments such as that illustrated by Mr. Dennison's *merchant?* For example, I am told by the representative of a great chain that the functional specialization of the traffic department and traffic manager is one of the most striking developments in chain store distribution. The mastery of more than twenty thousand route and rate combinations for getting goods by the most direct and cheapest routes from the manufacturer to the ultimate consumer has resulted in vast economies in money and time. Similarly, Colonel Rorty in a footnote to Mr. Mitchell's review of Mr. Copeland's study, declares that "one of the most significant results arising from the improvements in the science of management has been an increasing ability to secure from large units, or chains, the type of individual efficiency that a few years ago could be secured only in the small organization working under the direct supervision of a competent employer-owner." Education and personnel training as well as accountancy supervision and control have been undergoing very highly specialized functional evolution. It is questions such as these that merely quantitative statistics of growth fail to answer. Yet one has the feeling that it is in this field of functional evolution that the important economic changes of recent years will, on further research, be found.

THIS feeling grows as one turns from changes in distribution as illustrated by the chains and the growth of agricultural cooperatives to such matters as installment selling and advertising. Here the figures of volume, even when due allowance is made for errors in estimates, are huge. But precisely what are the recent developments in installment selling and advertising as functions of distribution, these figures, of course, do not show. I stress this point not in criticism of Mr. Copeland. He has done a valiant job in bringing together so much "external" evidence of economic growth and change. If, however, this information is to have any practical value for those who are engaged in changing distribution as an essential functioning part of our body politic, it will have to be supplemented by a whole series of studies of the type illustrated by Mr. Dennison's paper on merchandising.

Mr. Cunningham, for example, in his luminous review of recent railroad history, notes as especially significant the better personnel practices which have resulted in better morale which in turn has resulted in greatly improved productive efficiency on the part of railroad employes. It is only recently that executives have come to appreciate the economic importance of psychology in the growth of the science and art of management. In industry as well as education we need to know more about intelligence and how it can be made to count in the development and social utilization of our economic and technical resources. We need to verify in detail Mr. Mitchell's general proposition that progress is the measure of our application of intelligence to the complex problems of organized living.

It is to such studies that one must hope this swift inventory of our economic resources and equipment may presently lead.

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# The Banker—and His Clientele

By MERRYLE STANLEY RUKEYSER

THE business man long ago accustomed himself to play second fiddle when the banker was around. Recent changes, however, have gradually lifted the business man to a plane of social and economic equality with the banker. For a time, the banker has found it necessary to get off his pedestal and accustom himself to go out and ring door-bells to invite the business man to come to the bank to borrow money. Big business men, more affluent than ever before, have learned to turn down the supplications of the eager lenders, informing them glibly that they have no use for the banker's commodity—credit.

With the tables turned, the prestige of the business executive has enormously increased. Instead of living, as in the past, by virtue of the favor shown by the banker, he now has the upper hand and feels that he is doing something for the banker in giving him an account. There is keen competition among banks to get the patronage of solvent, well-managed concerns.

One era is closed and a new one opened. A story is told of a would-be borrower of the former period who discovered that a banker on whom he called had a glass eye. A friend asked him how he detected it, and he replied: "That eye looked sympathetic." Between 1922 and 1927, however, with credit in superabundant supply, the banker looked pleadingly out of both eyes.

At the moment tighter money conditions are somewhat allaying the relative degradation of the banker, but only in respect to weaker and smaller business men. Big business anticipated future needs for capital when conditions were propitious for raising funds advantageously.

A variety of factors accounts for the emancipation of business from undue dependence on the banks. Greater skill in management in big corporations, which have taken over a larger share of the total volume of business, is perhaps the basic reason for the new independence. In former times, business got into the banker's hands during periods of stress and strain. After the deflation of 1920-21, large banks had to set up hospitalization departments to direct the affairs of emaciated debtor concerns which had been taken over. The spirit of the times was reflected in an oft-told anecdote. A hard-boiled banker remarked to a heavily involved borrower, a clothing man, that he did not like the clothing business. "If you refuse me the additional loan," the clothing man rejoined, "*you* will be in the clothing business tomorrow." Great banks in 1920 and 1921 found themselves not only in the clothing, but also in the fur, coffee, general export, and miscellaneous businesses.

Premier corporations have so arranged their finances in recent years of favorable security markets that they are no longer borrowers of bank credit. Instead of making frequent short-term loans at the banks during periods of seasonal peak activity, such companies instead either sold long-term bonds or shares of capital stock to investors. They not only provided for their present requirements, but also anticipated future wants. For the time being, therefore, many corporate enterprises not only have sufficient cash to meet all their requirements, but have in the aggregate a vast surplus which they are lending out in the New York call money market in competition with the banks.

IN their contribution of a chapter on Capital Accumulation and Investment to the survey of Recent Economic Changes, O. M. W. Sprague, banking specialist of Harvard University, and W. Randolph Burgess, assistant federal reserve agent of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, in alluding to the new independence of business concerns, say:

> . . . The positive control over the conduct of industry that bankers may exercise is determined more by the abundance or scarcity of capital relative to demand than by the actual amount of funds that are made available. A business that is in a weak position, whether from poor earnings or faulty financial structure, may be obliged to follow implicitly the suggestions of bankers. When investment funds are in ample supply, a strong business enterprise occupies a position of satisfactory independence.

And again:

> Business in this period has been financed less by borrowing from banks and more by borrowing in the capital market through issues of securities. In this way individual lenders of funds have loaned unusually large sums directly to industry and commerce without the funds going through the form of bank deposits. Industrial requirements for bank loans have also been lessened by the prevailing custom of reducing inventories to the lowest possible point.

The authors hold, however, that business has received credit indirectly through the banks through brokers' loans and other collateral loans. Their discussion of this subject is timely in view of the widespread debate in Congress and elsewhere as to

*"A far wider group of individuals than in the past have become capitalists." From a characteristic advertisement offering securities to the public, by A. C. Allyn & Company of Chicago*



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whether brokers' loans represent financing of purely speculative operations. The authors point out:

> Indirectly, collateral loans facilitate the acquisition of bank credit for business purposes on a stock basis, a type of direct investment by banks that is subject to legal and traditional restrictions. Thus it may be said that some portion, of constantly varying amount, of the capital of the United States Steel Corporation throughout its entire history has been supplied by the banks, to the extent that steel stock has been accepted as security in collateral loans. Since by and large a business becomes stronger as the proportion of its assets financed by shareholders increases relative to its indebtedness, collateral loans in contributing to this result are performing a most useful service to the community.
>
> The increase in collateral loans and security holdings of banks relative to commercial loans may reflect a permanent tendency in the employment of bank credit. Improvements in methods of production in general involve the employment of increasing amounts of capital in fixed forms; seasonal peaks in industry are being reduced; and business organizations of large size are occupying a widening area in the field of production and merchandising. These developments favor the financing of the resources of business in permanent ways through the issue of stocks and bonds, and the wide distribution of such securities among investors. This is a merchandising activity which requires large funds that are mainly secured from banks by means of collateral loans. When secured for this purpose the collateral loan is strictly analogous to a commercial loan. It is serving to finance an operation of the borrower which in the ordinary course of his business will shortly be completed, and followed by a succession of similar operations in the future.

IN tracing the monetary trend between 1922 and 1928, the authors reveal that the facts are in conflict with certain economic dogmas. For example, the huge gold imports of the period, contrary to a strict interpretation of the quantity theory of money, caused no inflation of commodity prices. Commodity prices in 1928 were only 10 per cent higher than in 1921, despite an increase of 50 per cent in bank deposits over the curtailed total of that earlier year of post-armistice depression. Accordingly, the authors conclude, throwing down the gauntlet to the quantity theory of money dogmatists, "there is no automatic or close mechanical relationship between the volume of bank credit and the course of prices."

The authors deny that the Federal Reserve sterilized the imported gold, insisting that the normal amount of member bank expansion, based on reserves, took place. The avoidance of inflation, however, was explained on the subjoined grounds:

1. It was a period of rapid accumulation of savings, and much of the increase in bank deposits took the form of an increase in savings deposits, which have a relatively slow rate of turnover.
2. Commodity prices in other important countries of the world were tending to decline during this period and hence commodity prices in this country, which are greatly influenced by conditions in world commodity markets, met resistance against any upward movement.
3. The general prosperity of large business corporations made the securities of those corporations attractive to investors, and much of the additional credit was employed to finance active dealings in a growing volume of securities at rising price levels.
4. The period was characterized by increases in wages and salaries, and additional amounts of credit were employed for this purpose.
5. Considerable amounts of credit found their way into other employment, such as financing a huge building program, and financing appreciation of real estate.

As to the effect of Federal Reserve policy on credit expansion, the authors feel that the chief influence of the banking authorities was in timing the expansion:

> The relation of the Federal Reserve System to the gold imports of this period may be summarized by saying that the Reserve System did not sterilize the imported gold, but allowed the gold to have its usual effect in bringing about an increase in the volume of credit. This increase was limited to a primary credit expansion, that is, the gold was used only once for a credit expansion at the time when the member banks deposited it in the reserve banks, and it was not used for a secondary expansion; that is, the reserve banks did not utilize the additional lending power which they derived through their receipts of gold during the period.

Between the beginning of the year 1922 and the middle of 1927, there was a net increase of about $902,000,000 in the total gold stock of the country. The increase, which followed rapid gains between 1915 and 1921, was greater than the increment between 1900 and 1914. The banks used some of the new gold as a means of obtaining from the Reserve Banks additional currency to put into circulation, as evidenced by a gain of $285,000,000 in money in circulation; they employed part of the new gold to repay member banks borrowing at the Federal Reserve Banks, as revealed by a decrease of $278,000,000 in Federal Reserve credit in use; however, more than half—$582,000,000—was used to increase reserve balances of member banks at the Federal Reserve Banks. The effect of this on credit expansion is indicated by the fact that, on the average, member banks can support $10 to $15 in deposits, both time and demand, on $1 deposited as reserves at the Federal Reserve Bank. From June, 1921, to June, 1928, bank deposits increased by eighteen billion dollars. Between September 1, 1927, and September 1, 1928, a reversal of the tides of gold movements resulted in a net loss of $500,000,000 of the precious metal, curbing the factors making for low interest rates. Thus far in 1929, the net flow of gold has been in this direction again.

In forecasting the future, the authors indicate that the country must be prepared for a less rapid annual increase in the availability of credit, saying:

> It seems probable that this country must adjust itself to a smaller annual increase in bank reserves than has been available recently. The method of adjustment cannot be predicted in advance but may well be given careful study. It may be that continued economy of currency circulation will help solve the problem; perhaps a revision of the law is desirable to liberalize the provisions of the Reserve Act concerning collateral for Federal Reserve notes. If these notes were secured by the general assets of the Reserve Banks, rather than by specific types of assets, considerable amounts of gold would be released. It may be that a less rapid increase in bank credit than in the last five years would be eventually more wholesome; for it is yet to be seen whether the increase has sowed seeds of trouble which have not yet fully grown.

THE following factors are listed as those of importance which will condition the future supply of bank reserves:

1. Although no withdrawal is in sight as large as the recent French movement, other countries still hold in this country large liquid balances, which are subject to withdrawal.
2. With other countries eager takers of gold, it is uncertain how much, if any, of each year's new output will flow here.
3. The normal growth of credit and currency in this country to care for the increasing needs of trade calls for additions to our reserves of about $50,000,000 to $100,000,000 a year, although this is very difficult to forecast.
4. If the $650,000,000 of national bank notes now in circulation were retired and replaced by the Federal Reserve notes, collateraled perforce by gold, this operation would lock up $650,000,000 of gold.
5. If the unsecured issue of legal tender notes were retired

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and replaced by Federal Reserve notes, collateraled by gold, an additional $150,000,000 would be required.

The period under consideration has been marked by a prodigious rate of saving. The broader investment habits have had significant social, as well as economic ramifications. A far wider group of individuals than in the past have become capitalists. Higher real wages and general gains in national wealth have made the popular adventures in security-buying feasible. Corporations have encouraged the rise of the new investor, through offering shares directly to customers on the partial payment plan and through selling securities to employes at price concessions and on easy terms.

In the five-year period ending in June, 1927, an unprecedented amount of new security issues—more than $22,000,000,000—was created and sold. After deducting offsetting items, such as government debt retirement and purchase of securities by banks, it appears, that $13,500,000,000 was sold to institutions and to individual investors other than commercial banks, an annual average of more than $2,500,000,000. In pre-war years, the annual average was well under $2,000,000,000.

Since the winter of 1928, the Federal Reserve authorities have intermittently sought to check the rapid flow of credit into speculative channels. Of late there has been a conspicuously wide disparity between interest rates on brokers' loans and those on commercial loans. Business was favored with lower rates than speculators through the earlier period under study. For the period as a whole, commercial paper rates were somewhat lower than in the preceding twenty-four years, but interest rates for time and call loans against stock exchange collateral (which are employed in speculation) and yields on both bonds and common stocks were higher than in the preceding years. In commenting on the disparity, the authors offer this explanation:

The first is that under the terms of the Federal Reserve Act, commercial paper is eligible for rediscount at the Federal Reserve Banks, whereas loans on stock exchange collateral are not eligible, and under these conditions it is natural that member banks should discriminate in favor of commercial paper. The second explanation is found in the relative demand for these two types of loans in recent years.

During this period of record breaking prosperity for well managed urban banks, there was a heavy mortality among rural banks. Between 1921-1927, 4,513 banks suspended payment. Of these 559 were later reopened. The total deposits of the failed banks reached $1,151,000,000, an average of only $291,000 for each bank. More than 26,000 banks are still in operation in the United States.

In spite of legal inhibitions, there is now a marked tendency to amalgamate banks, either through formal consolidations or through groupings in chains owned by holding companies. The resultant banks are unspecialized institutions—virtually department stores of finance. The New York banks, whose shares have had a prodigious advance, are recognized as the instruments through which America exercises its new primacy in world financial affairs. Banking has accordingly become an increasingly lucrative career. Income statistics reveal that bank salaries had the largest increase during the period under consideration.

Incidentally, data on national income support the view that these have been years of prosperity, despite slight recessions of business in 1924 and 1927. In his contribution of a chapter on the National Income and Its Distribution, Morris A. Copeland, shedding further light on what has happened to the banker's clients, points out: "During this period the per-capita realized income has considerably exceeded all previous records, even when price changes are allowed for. In this respect the condition of the United States stands in marked contrast to that of England." The prosperity, Mr. Copeland found, was chiefly in the Middle Atlantic, East North Central, and the Pacific states, areas which include less than one-half of the population and receive somewhat more than one-half the national income. The rest of the country, in Mr. Copeland's opinion, was not prosperous—with New England's manufactures waning, and the South, the Middle West, and the mountain states suffering from the depression in agriculture.

# The Consumer—and His Vagaries

By MARY ROSS

*Illustrations from The Gay Nineties, by R. V. Culter, Doubleday, Page & Company*

MEET Mr. Consumer and his family in the chapter prepared by Leo Wolman, not Mr. and Mrs. Millionaire, but Mr. Average Consumer and the wife—the kind of people who in tabulations are named "per capita." Since 1922 there has been a real revolution which has placed their standard of living at almost the center of economic thinking. Mr. Wolman frames it in staggering statistics drawn from authoritative sources—and to the non-statistical eye the pleasing landscape within the frame is composed of mountains of lettuce, glaciers of ice-cream, whole prairies paved with gleaming white bath-tubs, endless lines of shining new automobiles crawling from coast to coast, and mushrooming universities and schools which fairly outdo the factories in increasing the speed of their output of boys and girls waving sheepskins.

The change in American ways has caused numerous attempts to evolve an index which would measure real earnings, that is, what the income will buy. Two such indices are cited, one covering wages in the manufacturing industries, the other the wages and salaries lumped under manufacturing, transportation, the ministry, teaching and the stated emoluments of public office. Both of these, though very differently arrived at, indicate a much higher level of affluence since 1922 than ever before. But even the best of indices cannot allow for the many unknown factors, so after stating these cheering results, Mr. Wolman lays them gently aside and proceeds to tell what Americans are buying and what they are getting without having to pay for it.

A thrill of surprise goes through the harassed budgeteer at the very mention of this last category of income, which includes what we are known to get in free social services

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provided by the forty-eight states and the cities with a population of more than 30,000. This comprises both public and private funds spent each year for education and libraries, and public money for recreation, the conservation of health, hospitals, charities (excluding the much greater private expenditures for charity), and mothers' pensions. It reached the not inconsiderable amount of $859,336,000 in 1915; and by 1926 it had snowballed to $2,860,935,000, with by far the greatest amount (approximately two billions and a half) for education. Divided among 110,000,000 Americans it gives each of us a tidy addition of $260 to our individual income. But needless to say it is not so divided. First it does not include the farmers; and further the recipients of public charity or a mother's pension, for example, are obviously not able to get much benefit from the millions of endowment stored up by the universities.

These free social services accounted for 3.4 per cent of our national income in 1926, as contrasted with 2.4 per cent in 1915. Mr. Wolman points out that the United States lags far behind Europe in state contributions to family income through such forms as health and unemployment insurance, old age pensions, and family allowances, which have grown to such proportions in recent years that one cannot consider real earnings without taking them into account.

In the matter of food, to which the bulk of the chapter is devoted, our new motto seems to be fewer and better calories: less food, because fewer of us are engaged habitually in heavy manual labor, while the multiplication of automobiles has more than offset the vogue for sports insofar as exercise is concerned; better food, because we have the money to pay for it, because we know more about nutrition and apparently are really taking to heart the gospel of green vegetables and milk, and last, but possibly not least, because of "the well-known vogue of the slender figure in the case of women." Our national dietary is the best in the history of the country, which, Mr. Wolman attributes, among other things, to the restriction of immigration, Negro migration to the North, lower birth-rates, and prohibition.

In 1926 or 1927 (figures for exactly corresponding periods are not always available) Mr. Per Capita consumed 139.3 lbs. of meat, of which 58 lbs. was beef and 68.5 lbs. pork. In the dairy line he got away with 14.54 pounds of evaporated milk, 4.11 pounds of cheese, about 3 gallons of ice-cream, and 16.84 pounds of butter, which means increases of from 23 per cent to (in the case of ice-cream) 45 per cent over the corresponding figures for 1919. In that same period his consumption of fresh milk increased by a third. For this desirable trend Mr. Wolman thanks the increased safety and purity of milk products, the higher purchasing power of families, the closing of saloons, and the educational work of the doctors, of school and district nurses, literature on child feeding and commercial advertising.

Our growing use of vegetable oils for food is another startling change, especially since the war, though there is something a trifle distressing in the reflection that "cotton-seed oil has been extensively diverted from industrial to dietary uses." Mr. Per Capita's intake of sugar has risen from 79 pounds in 1910-1911 to 110 pounds in 1925-27, due partly to low prices, perhaps partly to prohibition, partly to his increasing use of fruit. From records of acreage planting, carlot shipments, exports and imports, it seems clear that he has added little, if anything, to his use of apples, white and sweet potatoes, cabbage and onions. On the other hand, celery, carrots, spinach, lettuce and snap beans are fairly zooming, with lettuce second only to white potatoes in its carlot shipments (46,670 in 1927 as compared with 13,788 in 1920) while snap beans showed an even greater relative increase from 1,473 carloads in 1929 to 7,278 in 1927. And while meats, fruits and vegetables (especially the fresh ones), dairy products, vegetable oils, and sugar have been strengthening their places on the grocery list, cereals, especially wheat and corn, have lost proportionately and it seems unlikely that they ever will regain their former importance.

*A family liability before our days of fewer clothes and calories. The callers bewail a daughter who is too slender even to be stylish.*

These new fashions in food, less nourishing and more healthful and diversified, are probably more expensive than our older ways. Aside from wanting better food, we want to have it better served. City living and the smallness of modern families reduce food operations to the kitchenette scale, and promote restaurant patronage. Yet as a whole, Americans probably spend a smaller proportion

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of their total incomes for food than the people of any other comparable country.

When it comes to manufactured goods, the difficulties of figuring out our ways seem even greater than in the case of food. Our cigarette output, for reasons not too difficult to guess, increased twenty-five-fold between 1899 and 1927, while cigars, manufactured tobacco and snuff have been losing ground since 1914. "It is a general impression," Mr. Wolman says somewhat surprisingly, "that there has been in these last years a relative reduction in the purchase of clothes." The exceptions are millinery, lace goods and men's furnishings! Among the textiles, the slow growth of the old staples has been partially offset by the great advance in silk, rayon, knit goods, and domestic rugs and carpets.

*Curb-side conference on what can we feed our husbands with eggs a penny apiece and porterhouse threatening to go to nineteen a pound!*

Then come figures which indicate "the pervasive character of electric consumption." Four and a half million incandescent lamps produced in 1925, for example, as compared with one million in 1914, while vaccum cleaners, electric washing machines, stoves, refrigerators, and the like have increased in equally startling ratios. Radio is the real beanstalk of this fairy tale, with an output valued at $8,000,000 in 1919 and $177,000,000 in 1925. About 80 per cent of our city homes are electrified.

The core of the consumers' revolution is reached when one regards the automobile. In 1910, one automobile to every 265 persons in the country; in 1917, one to 22; in 1919, one to 16; and on July 1, 1928, one to every 6. Since 1922, an average of more than 3,000,000 new passenger cars have taken the road each year. And the end is not yet. Mr. Wolman cites an analysis of occupations of the buyers of automobiles made by one large manufacturer in 1928. The cars sold cost from $1,100 to $1,600. Less than a fifth of the purchasers were classed as "manufacturers, capitalists, bankers, brokers, and merchants;" about one in ten was a professional man; and an equal percentage subexecutives, foremen and the like; one-fifth were salesmen and clerks; just short of a quarter, laborers and artisans; while housewives and farmers tailed the list with 4.7 and 3.4 per cent respectively.

It is clear that a large proportion of the current purchasers of passenger automobiles is made by the members of the wage-earning and salaried groups. These groups, moreover, apparently make substantial purchases by cash payment. In the labor and artisan group, also, the total number of sales involving no trades and the number involving the trading in of cheaper cars was nearly twice as great as the number of sales in which the same or better cars were turned in.

Carpenters, machinists, bricklayers, waitresses and laborers are all listed as buyers who paid cash for new cars and had nothing to trade in to reduce the cash required. Finally, Mr. Wolman concludes, a car is one thing in which money goes further today than in 1914. Allowing for the change in the value of the dollar, it is estimated that a new model of a four-cylinder closed car, with a 110-114 inch wheelbase, which cost $1,500 in 1913, could be bought for $760 in 1920 and $600 in 1927, and that the 1927 species at that was vastly superior.

Housing accommodation, lagging sadly from 1917 through 1922, has been increasing at a rate progressively higher than normal since that year, and seems to be of a more expensive grade each year. In the section on construction by John M. Gries in the chapters of the report devoted to industry, it is shown that one-family houses made a quicker start in building after 1919, followed more tardily by apartments, and that new housing is better built and better planned than the older types. Mr. Wolman points out, however, that our increased building rate does not mean an over-supply, since the standards of housing have advanced and much of the older type has become obsolete and remains vacant or has been demolished.

For the sanitary equipment of our houses Mr. Wolman draws upon the survey of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1925. In that year it was estimated that 68 per cent of city homes had stationary bath-tubs, while 83 and 82 per cent had kitchen sinks and toilets respectively. That leaves considerable room for basic improvements, especially as these figures do not include the wide-open country stretches where bath-tubs are few and far between. But improvement seems on its way. From 1913 to 1922 enameled bath-tubs were installed at the rate of 480,000 a year; from 1922 to 1928, at the rate of 1,100,000.

Bath-tubs lead naturally to water. New Yorkers increased their consumption of water from 79 gallons per capita daily in 1910, to 142 gallons in 1926. (Prohibition is not cited as a factor in this increase.) And this 142 gallons in New York in 1927 (*Continued on page* 327)

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# Americans All

By WESLEY C. MITCHELL

FOR eight years we Americans have enjoyed the highest per-capita income of our history. Throughout those eight years conditions in most other countries have been unfavorable, and throughout them our own basic industry of agriculture has been depressed. In these conflicting situations lies the most puzzling question raised by the reconnaisance of Recent Economic Changes in the United States, instituted by President Hoover.

The reports of the various experts enlisted by the National Bureau of Economic Research, and reviewed on the preceding pages, gave many partial answers. All these answers may be condensed into one: since 1921 Americans have applied intelligence to the day's work more effectively than ever before. The old process of putting science into industry has been intensified and has been supplemented by tentative efforts to put science into business management, trade-union policy and government administration.

It is difficult to measure the technical progress of 1922-27 with the data now available. It is still more difficult to make reliable measurements for earlier years, when censuses were taken at longer intervals and fewer supplementary figures were published. But doubts whether the rate of improvement is unprecedented are not of great moment. It remains clear that the Industrial Revolution is not a closed episode; we are living in the midst of it, and the economic problems of today are largely problems of its making.

The nineteenth century, which saw the beginning of this process, brought great changes in the fortunes of mankind by the application of science to the work of producing, transporting, manufacturing and distributing goods, underlaid by increasingly wide and exact knowledge of natural processes. Science spread from its ancient stronghold of mathematics into a systematic study of the most varied phenomena of living processes and consciousness. The industrial application of scientific discoveries was secured by the rise and differentiation of the engineering professions. From the parent stock of military engineers there developed in turn civil engineers, mechanical, mining, marine, sanitary, gas, chemical, electrical, efficiency and production engineers—each group trained in the fundamental sciences and thoroughly experienced as well in industrial practice.

Not only did the new techniques enable men to produce more from their known resources; they also brought distant resources within reach and discovered new treasures which were turned to human use. Vast new granaries were developed in the Mississippi Valley, Argentina and Canada; vast new ranges for cattle and sheep stretched from Texas to Montana and over much of Argentina and Australia. The textile mills of England were fed cotton from the South Atlantic and Gulf states, Egypt, India; silk from China and Japan; wool from Argentina and Australia; coarser fibers from Mexico and the Philippines. European soils were replenished from Chilean nitrates. Iron ranges of great extent were found in North America; copper came from Michigan, Montana, Arizona, Utah, Chile and Peru; gold flowed from Brazil, California, Australia, Alaska and South Africa; petroleum pools were found dotted over the globe. Most important of all for the new technique, coal deposits surpassing those of England in extent were developed in Europe and America. Science enabled the generations which applied it to tap energy from the sun accumulated through millions of years. As research, engineering, and business enterprise were developed, so also was prospecting. The world was combed over as never before by men with piercing eyes and long plans.

*This plaque, Vision, and the three following were designed for their new building in New York City by the Chanin Company's architectural department; Rene Chambellan, sculptor*

The net gain in ability to provide for their desires brought men the possibility of raising their standard of consumption, of reducing their hours of work, of giving their children more education, of increasing their numbers. They took a slice of each of these goods rather than all of one. They worked somewhat less hard as the decades went by; they raised their standards of consumption appreciably, they established compulsory education and reduced illiteracy; they added to the population. Any one of these changes might have been made on a larger scale had not men taken their gains in various forms.

This whole process of gaining new knowledge and putting it to use has had to make headway against other human interests—particularly man's interest in getting the better of his fellow men. Business friction, class struggles and national war check science and the peaceful arts; they impoverish the participants and



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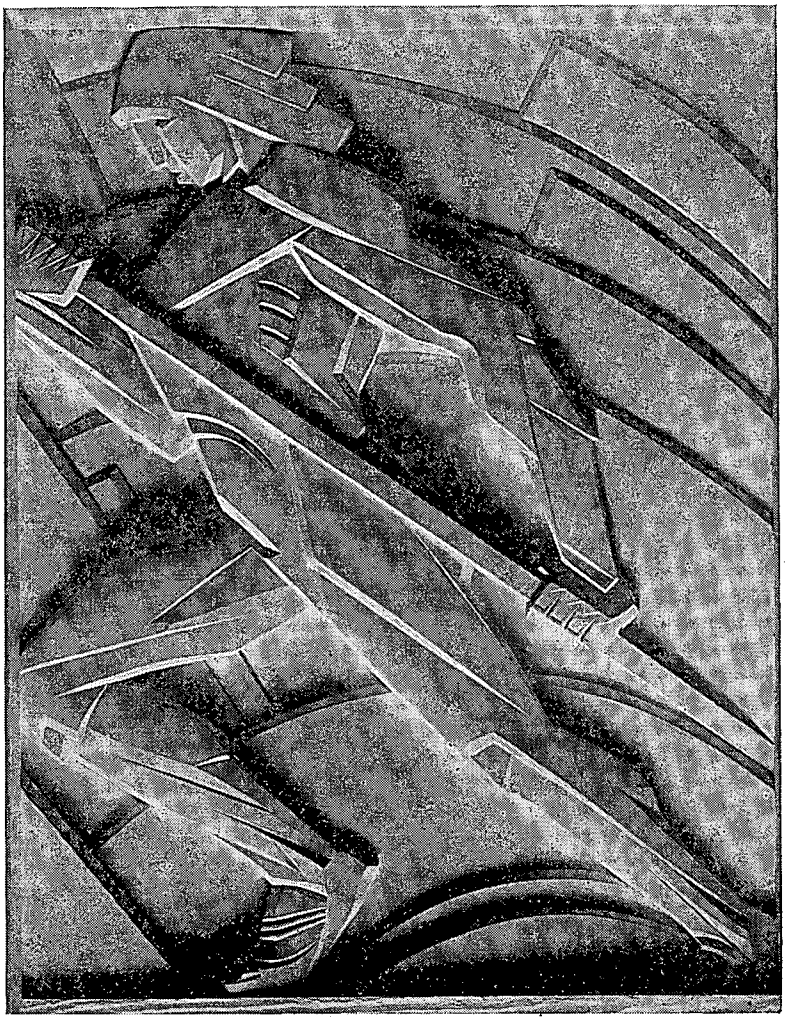
usually injure a good many bystanders as well.

Of the checks which economic progress has suffered since the Industrial Revolution began, the gravest was inflicted by the war of 1914-18. The elaborate equipment for attack and defense demanded by up-to-date standards of military efficiency meant that every soldier at the front had to be served by several workers behind the lines. Despite prodigies of energy on the part of many leaders and devotion on the part of the masses, the vast industrial changes of the war were attended by enormous wastes, in addition to the damage which the armies and the navies were intended to inflict.

In finance, the war brought even wilder confusion than in industry. Monetary and banking policies were dictated, not by the economic interests of people but by the pressure of circumstances. Specie payments were suspended in several countries almost immediately. Wholesale prices, wages and costs of living, in terms of the irredeemable paper currencies, underwent fantastic fluctuations, and made necessary awkward schemes of government control. Millions of people had much of their property quietly confiscated through no fault of their own and thousands grew suddenly rich not by virtue of service. Taxes mounted to heights which seemed unbearable, but public debts swelled faster still. No rule of national finance could be followed when it ran counter to the plea of necessity.

Europe was left with fewer people; these people were less well-nourished, less able-bodied, less self-reliant; their industrial equipment was in poor physical condition and in good part useless for peace-time production; their soils were depleted from lack of fertilizers; they had sacrificed a large part of their farm animals; they had laid waste considerable stretches of land and ruined many towns. When peace returned Europe faced the task of demobilizing soldiers and war workers, releasing government controls, reorganizing industrial forces and restoring capital equipment while prices were still fluctuating violently and while political prospects, domestic and international, were most uncertain. Economic welfare in Europe had received a set-back indeed.



ACTIVITY

As a result, the economic position of the United States improved greatly in comparison with Europe's. That was more because the European losses were staggering than because American gains were spectacular. The revolution in prices makes it difficult to discover what really happened. To get at the facts we must go behind dollars to goods.

The most inclusive index we have of the country's economic fortunes is per-capita income in dollars of constant purchasing power. In the last full year before the war (1913), the per-capita income of Americans, taken at the retail prices of 1925, was $625. Starting with this figure as 100, per-capita income shrank to 97 in 1914, rose to 99.5 in 1915, to 106 in 1918. Military operations ended in that year, but the economic effects of the war dominated the years 1919-21. By the time we were ready for a new start, our per-capita income had dropped well below the pre-war level. Indeed, the average per-capita income for the eight years of war and post-war readjustments, 1914-21, was less than the per-capita income of 1913. That is not a record of prosperity.

Readily as they had accepted the economic regulations and restrictions imposed during the war, the American people threw off the yoke eagerly after the Armistice. The underfed European population bid eagerly for our foodstuffs; also, they were short of raw materials for their mills. Aided by American credits, governmental and private, they could pay for what they needed. So the physical volume of exports and their prices rose together. Domestic demands were scarcely less keen. Under these circumstances 1919 developed into a great trading year.

The business boom evolved with extraordinary quickness, and in rather extreme form, the internal stresses characteristic of such episodes. Prices at wholesale had climbed unsteadily to 247 in May, 1920, an advance of 54 points on the pre-war base from the start of the dizzy rise in March of the preceding year. Then came the turn. Slowly at first, soon rapidly, prices gave way. In half the time it had taken prices to rise 54 points they dropped 68 points. Favorable factors prevented the crisis from degenerating into a panic but the net resultant of the complex of forces was a drastic financial liquidation which presently produced, and was aggravated by, a severe industrial depression. Discharges mounted month by month until the number of unemployed in 1921 probably surpassed all previous records. Business losses swelled to prodigious figures. In the course of the

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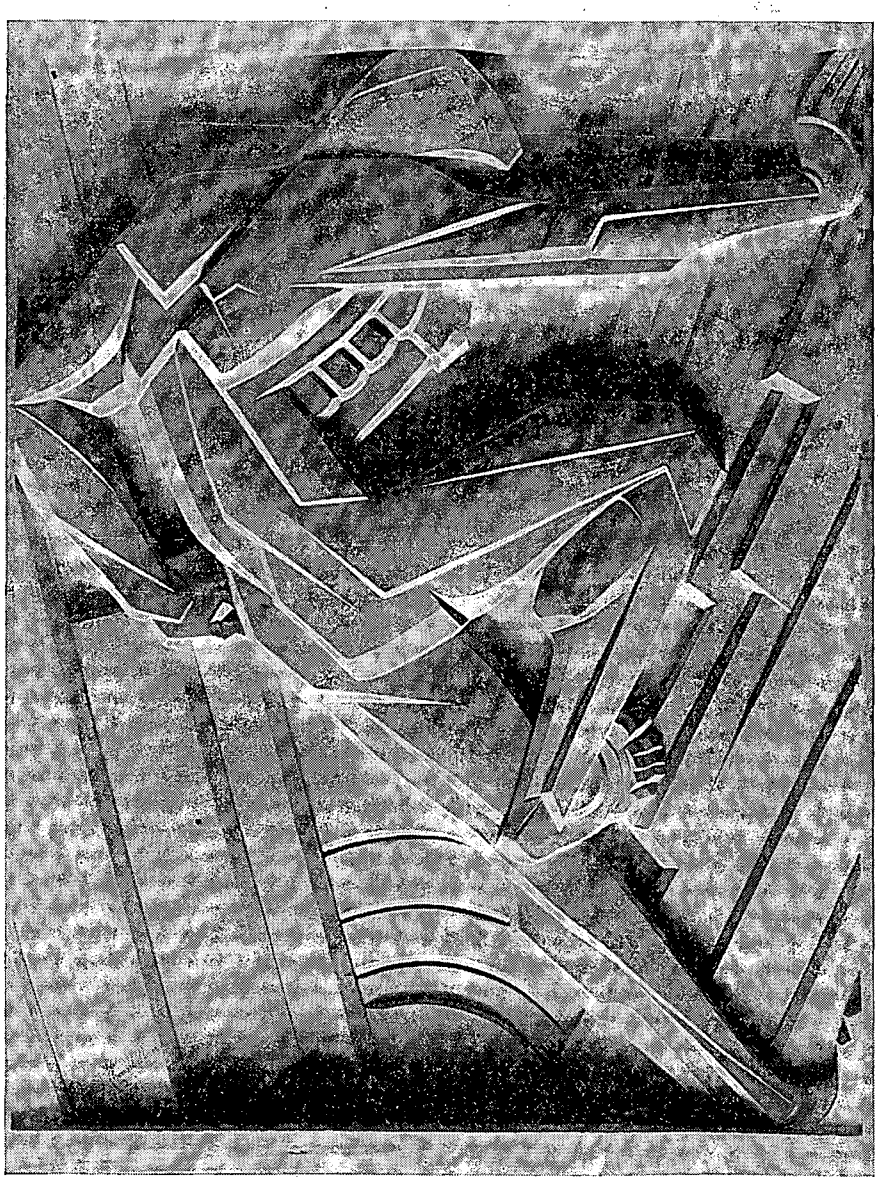
radical readjustment that followed, a considerable fraction of the accumulated war-time profits was swallowed up.

Though the boom of 1919, the crisis of 1920, and the depression of 1921 followed the pattern of earlier cycles, this cycle was heavily influenced by world-wide economic conditions due to the war and its sudden ending. Military operations ceased with the Armistice; peace was declared in 1919; economic life did not resume its wonted course until 1920.

The sheaf of articles preceding this one, and the reports on which they are based, form a moving picture of the economic changes going on in the United States in the years since 1921. They show scenes from real life registered from various angles by a group of skilled observers. This record presents striking contrasts. Consumption as a whole has increased, but the consumption of certain great staples has shrunk. While trade at large has flourished, certain branches have languished—notably ship-building, the railway equipment industry, and agriculture; in less measure, the textile, coal and shoe trades. Payroll disbursements of factories have expanded, but manufacturing employment has diminished. Business profits have been large, but so also has been the number of bankruptcies. Great quantities of gold have flowed into the country, but wholesale prices have sagged. Income as a whole has grown larger, but important sections of the country have made little gain, and important occupations have suffered loss.

Concrete instances of technical improvements in many mining, metallurgical, and fabricating processes have been recorded in the industrial survey; similar, though less striking instances appear in construction. Without help from any extraordinary invention, the railroads have attained a higher level of operating efficiency. In farming there is an intriguing report of new machines and new methods coming into use. While the details of the latest technical advances always possess thrilling interest, perhaps there is more of real promise for the future in the recent changes in economic policy.

The efforts to apply scientific methods to such matters are in an early stage of development. The sciences which underlie these efforts—psychology, sociology, economics—are far less advanced than physics and chemistry. The experts who are making the applications—personnel managers, advertising specialists, sales directors, business economists, statisticians—are less rigorously trained than engineers. It is even harder to measure the results achieved than to determine what differences a new machine makes in unit costs. Nor are business executives so generally convinced of the practical value of the rather intangible services which the new professions can render as they are of the indispensability of engineering advice. Yet it is conceivable that applications of the social sciences, now in the tentative stage, will grow into contributions of great moment to economic welfare.



EFFORT

Perhaps none of the changes reported here will prove more important in the long run than the change in the economic theories on which the American Federation of Labor and certain outside unions are acting. That organizations of wage-earners should grasp the relations between productivity and wages, and that they should take the initiative in pressing constructive plans for increasing efficiency upon employers is not wholly without precedent; but the spread of such ideas and the vigor with which they are acted on by large organizations must startle those who have believed that trade unions are brakes upon economic progress.

Scarcely less significant is the report from the employing side. Our investigators believe that the art of business management turned a corner in 1921. Most of the new managerial devices are attempts to understand and to utilize the psychological forces which control human behavior or the economic forces which control business activity.

By the side of these rather definite changes in trade-union and in business policy, we may set the influence of certain

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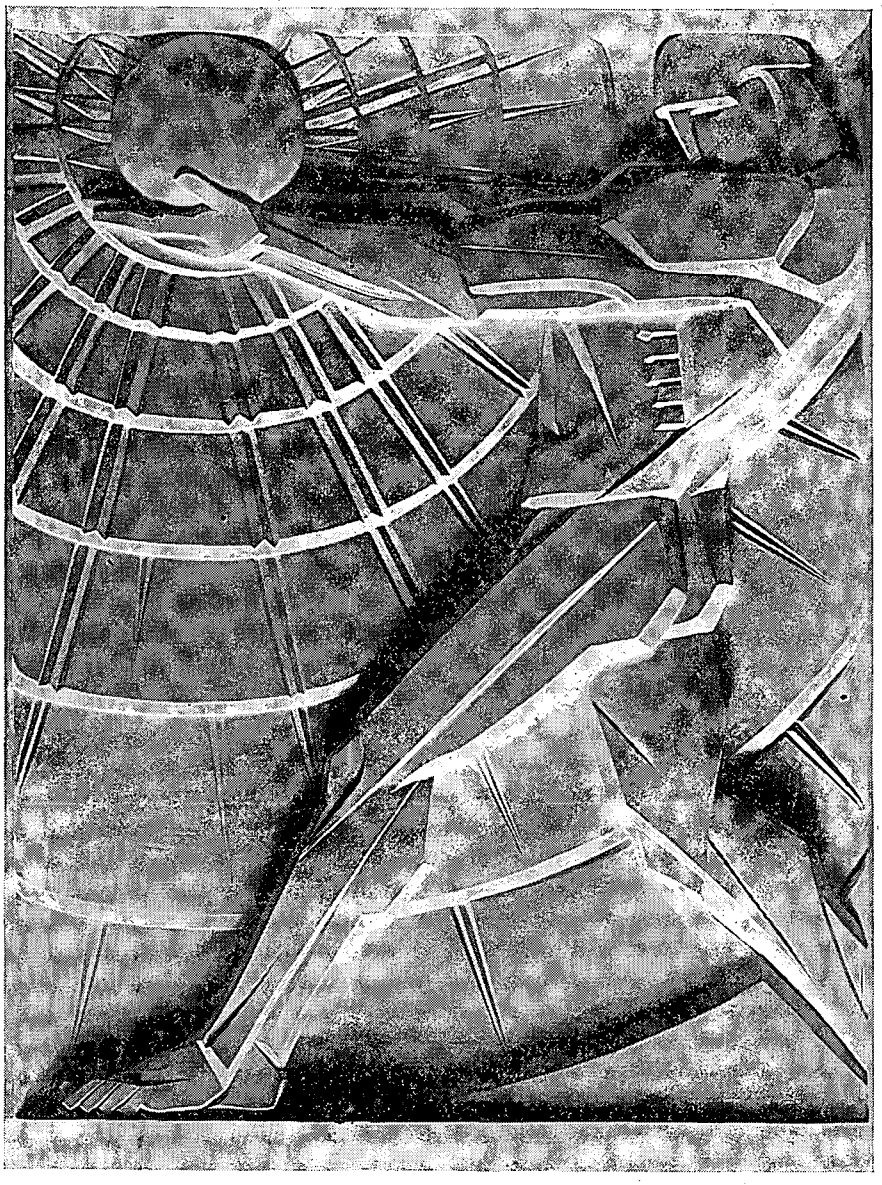
general ideas which have gained wide currency in the last few years.

First, there is the spirit of caution. The staggering financial losses of 1920-21 enforced the old moral emphatically; the sagging course of commodity prices has kept it in mind, and the increased operating efficiency of producers and railroads has made possible close scheduling of merchandise transactions. Possibly the spirit of caution is wearing off as 1921 recedes into the past. If that proves to be the case, we may look with confidence for a repetition of the painful lesson.

Associated with the prudence which has tempered enterprise, is a more systematic effort to learn from experience. Since the war, an increasing number of officials, publicists and business men have fostered the keeping of better statistical records, and have analyzed their past experience as a guide to future planning.

More publicity concerning business operations and closer cooperation among business enterprises should also be noted as characteristic of the day. Certainly there is marked increase of readiness to join cooperative programs of research and publicity, to interchange trade information, to standardize products where standardization is good business, to consult about methods and practices—in short, to treat the industry for many purposes as a unit in whose prosperity all members have a common interest, and to inspire good-will in the public by open dealings.

Fourth, belief in the economy of high wages has become prevalent among the abler business executives much as belief in increasing productivity has become prevalent among the abler trade-union leaders. Not only do many business executives admit the general principle that paying high wages is good policy, they are ready to assume what they consider their share of the responsibility for putting the principle into practice.



ACHIEVEMENT

The share of government in recent economic changes has not been made the subject of a separate article. But the service of one public agency, the Federal Reserve System, is treated in the paper on banking, and the service of the Departments of Commerce and of Agriculture are mentioned in several places. Government agencies must be credited with an indispensable, though indirect, share in what has been accomplished.

To repeat: all of the changes making for prosperity can be summed up under a single head,—applying fresh intelligence to the day's work. From the use of abstruse researches in pure science to the use of broad economic conceptions and the use of common sense, the method of American progress in 1922-28 has been the old method of taking thought. Peace let us turn our thoughts to common matters, the hard times of 1921 spurred our efforts, and the complicated consequences of our efforts have kept us thinking.

Among the consequences which improvements in industrial technique or in business methods produce in an individualistic state are hardships of various kinds. The victims are partly business competitors who are a bit slow in adopting new methods; partly industries or geographic regions affected indirectly; partly individuals who find their services no longer needed. The queer mixture of prosperity and depression we have already noted is due largely to the pressure which some group's growing efficiency puts upon other groups.

The technical advances of recent years in the United States have been largely advances in the direction of more economical production: a greater volume of goods has been turned out at lower costs per unit. This reduction in unit costs and the increase in the supply of wares turned out by improved methods have combined with international forces to keep the American price level from rising buoyantly in 1922-28, as it has done in most periods of prosperity. Presumably, the international factors have been more potent than the domestic factors in producing the results. Yet we may count the reduction in cost and the increases in output among the manifestations of efficiency which have contributed to the difficulties of making money in this period.

Sagging prices make it harder to conduct business with

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profit because many of the expenses of an enterprise are fixed by long contracts or by understandings hard to alter, and cannot be cut to offset a reduction in selling rates. From 1922 to 1927 concerns in the van of technical progress have done handsomely. But the prices at which they could market their large outputs with profit to themselves have meant loss and even bankruptcy to less aggressive rivals. The average number of failures in these years actually exceeded the number in 1921, but the total and the average liabilities have grown smaller.

SCARCELY less characteristic of our period than unit-cost reductions is the rapid expansion in the production and sale of products little used or wholly unknown a generation or even a decade ago. When the makers of one product get a larger slice of the consumer's dollar, the slices left for the makers of other products get smaller. This way of accounting for the recent hardships of long-established industries, such as leather and woolens, is popular and sound so far as it goes. But it does not take account of the fact that desire for new goods, or the pressure of installment purchases once made, may lead people to work harder or more steadily and so get more dollars to spend. Presumably the enticements of automobiles and radios, of wrist-watches and electric refrigerators, of correspondence courses and college, have steadied many youths, set many girls hunting for jobs and kept many fathers of families to the mark. Also a considerable part of the country's former bill for intoxicants has been available to spend in other ways. How much allowance we should make for these factors nobody knows. All one can say with assurance is that consumption per capita has increased in volume to match the increased per-capita output of consumers' goods taken altogether. Yet the increase in consumption has not been rapid enough to prevent shifts in the kind of goods bought from pressing hard upon the makers of articles waning in popular fancy.

So, too, in the realm of producers' goods. Despite the active building campaign the lumber industry has had hard sledding. Breeders of draft animals have found their markets cut into by motor vehicles. It is not necessary to multiply examples.

JUST as definite gains may be made in productivity by shifting factories to better locations, or by reorganizing channels of supply, as by installing automatic machines. Besides the drift of cotton manufacturing to the South, of which everyone thinks, and the more recent drift of shoe manufacturing to the West, our survey of industry shows a prevailing tendency toward geographical decentralization of production. Clearly we have here another feature of increasing efficiency which brings losses as well as gains. New England may not lose as much as North Carolina and St. Louis gain from the shifts in the cotton and shoe trades —that is a question of the totals. And New England may devise new ways of using her labor, her capital and her manufacturing sites more profitably than the old—necessity is often the mother of invention. But whatever happens in the future, we must not let the dazzle of the high lights blind us to the sectional shadows.

Among all the hardships imposed by increasing efficiency, most publicity has been given to the decline in the number of wage-earners employed by factories. A new phrase coined to describe what is happening, "technological unemployment," designates nothing new in the facts, though the numbers affected may be large beyond precedent. The power looms put an end to hand-loom weaving after tragic struggles. Railways displaced the old mail coaches and carters. But the broad result has been that the industrial triumphs of the nineteenth century increased the demand for labor and increased its rewards. "Labor-saving" machinery has turned out to be job-making machinery.

To recall these familiar facts should not diminish by one jot our rating of the hardships suffered by men who are thrown out of jobs. They and their families often undergo severe privation before new employment can be found; the new jobs may pay less than the old or be less suitable; too often the displaced man never finds a new opening. Technical progress is continually made at cost to individuals who have committed no fault and made no avoidable error of judgment.

All the available data show that American wage-earners meet technological unemployment in manufacturing mainly by turning to other ways of making a living. Adopting a new occupation, however, does not guarantee getting a new job. The surplus workers from our farms and factories who hunted for fresh openings during the last seven years increased unemployment in other fields. The expansion of business, particularly the expansion of miscellaneous and mercantile occupations, made places for perhaps four and a half million new wage-earners. But the supply of new jobs has not been equal to the number of new workers, plus the old workers displaced. Hence there has been a net increase of unemployment between 1920 and 1927 which exceeds half a million people.

ONE may wonder at the versatility, initiative and mobility of Americans evidenced afresh by their prompt shift of occupations on so great a scale in recent years. One may wonder also at the rapid expansion of the trades which have absorbed over five million workers in seven years without reducing wage rates. But one must not forget that these shiftings have been compulsory in large measure; men have been forced out of factories as well as pulled into automobile services, shops and restaurants. And the employment balance is on the unfavorable side. While our economic progress has meant larger per-capita earnings for all workers taken together, it has imposed severe suffering upon hundreds of thousands of individuals.

American farming owes part of its difficulties in 1922-27 to reductions in foreign demand and increases in foreign supply. Fresh difficulties have been created for farmers by changes in domestic demand, and by the successful efforts of farmers to increase their own efficiency as producers. Yet it is a grave error to think of American farmers as the passive but complaining victims of calamity. Dr. Nourse shows that they have exhibited as vigorous a capacity for self-help as any other large section of the community. The qualities which enabled their forerunners to subdue the wilderness reappear in the efforts the present generation has made to work a way out of the post-war tangle. That with all their courage and ability they have not yet succeeded in regaining their former measure of prosperity must be ascribed partly to the slowness of agricultural processes themselves, partly to the halting recuperation of Europe and its reactions on other countries, and partly to the fact that increasing efficiency has added to the supply of farm products and cut down the demand.

So far, the contrasts noted in this summary between the economic fortunes of different income groups, different industries and different section of the United States from 1922 to 1927, have been traced to (*Continued on page* 320)

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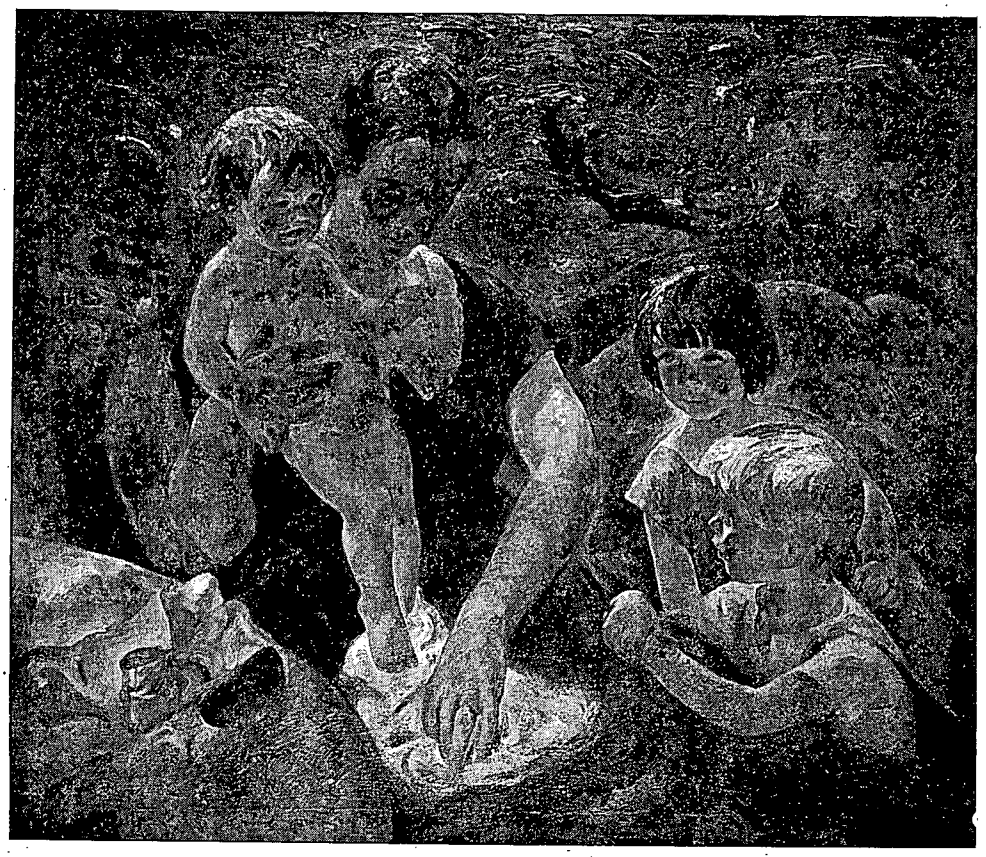

Courtesy Babcock Galleries, New York

*Mother and Children, by John E. Costigan*

# Is the Modern Housewife a Lady of Leisure?

By HILDEGARDE KNEELAND

IN most masculine eyes—and even in some feminine—the average housewife today is a Cinderella in modern dress. The magic wand of the Industrial Revolution is supposed to have transformed her from a household drudge into a lady of leisure. On every hand the opinion is heard that she has ceased to be a "producer," that insofar as she still has a job, it is that of director of consumption. According to this view, another wave or two of the wand will imperil her very existence. Her early demise as an occupational type would seem inevitable.

In the long run this prediction as to the housewife's fate will probably prove correct. For her fairy godmother seems to have no intention of ceasing to lighten her burdens. Every year, every month, sees a further increase in the use of ready-cooked food, ready-made clothing, ready-washed laundry, even ready-trained children—and this despite our almost violent prejudice in favor of the home product.

But we appear to have overestimated the speed at which the transformation has been taking place. We have been so absorbed in watching the changes in the home that our ideas as to what has already happened have gotten somewhat ahead of the event; we gaze into the future and think we are viewing the present. In the days of our great-grandchildren the housewife may be as extinct as the dodo. But at the present time some 26,000,000 hale and hearty followers of the trade might rise and announce in the words of Mark Twain, "The reports of my death have been greatly exaggerated."

Keeping our eyes firmly, then, on these 26,000,000 housewives who are with us here and now, we may well ask, "How alive are they, occupationally speaking? How many of them still find full-time jobs in their homemaking, how many are still overworked, how many are underworked?"

In a study at the Bureau of Home Economics we have been seeking an answer to this question. With the help of the extension and research staffs of several colleges, we have induced more than 2,000 homemakers to keep careful daily records of how they spent their time for seven days of a typical week. Most of these records came from middle-class homes—from farm and village women with whom the college extension service is in touch, and in smaller numbers from club-women in towns and cities. The results so far tabulated are surprising to those of us who by temperament belong to the historical, eyes-on-the-future school. Five-sixths of these homemakers spent over 42 hours a week in their homemaking, more than half spent over 48 hours, and one-third spent over 56 hours. The average for all is slightly over 51 hours a week. If this be part-time work, what, one may ask, would be full-time?

No standard has yet been set for a reasonable working week for the homemaker. But probably we should all agree



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that more than eight hours a day for seven days of the week would exceed a reasonable figure, and that less than the 42-hour week of the white collar worker would be unduly low. If we take this range of 42 to 56 hours as roughly marking the limits of what might be considered a full-time job in homemaking, exactly half of the homemakers in the study will be found within this class, while one-third will be classed as overworked and only the remaining sixth as underworked. Judged by this group of housewives, homemaking is still for the majority a full-time job, and too much work is still a more frequent problem than too little.

WHEN we turn to the farm records, and include in our figures the time spent in the care of poultry and milk, in gardening and in other farm work which falls to the homemaker's lot as "naturally" as does her housekeeping, the number of part-time jobs fades to a negligible figure, and the extent of overwork takes on serious proportions. The average time spent in all work by the 950 farm women whose records have so far been tabulated is over 62 hours a week—almost 9 hours a day every day of the week.

The most surprising results of the study appear with the city homemakers. It is they who are supposed to be wasting away in idleness. Yet the average time spent in homemaking by the women in cities of from 2,500 to 50,000 is 51 hours a week, only a few minutes less than the rural figure; and for the large cities of 50,000 and over, the average, though lower, is still a little above 48 hours. Even this difference is more than offset by the slightly smaller number of persons in the average city household—4.1 persons as against 4.4 in the average farm home—and by the slightly larger amount of help which the city housewives received. Only 10 per cent of the women in large cities spent less than 35 hours a week in their homemaking—and there are few of us enjoying full-time professional jobs who would feel distressingly idle on 35 hours of work.

The similarity of the urban and rural records holds even in the distribution of the total time among the various household tasks. The city homemakers, to be sure, spent a few hours more during the week in care of children and purchasing, and a few hours less in cooking and dishwashing. But this smaller amount of time spent in the kitchen is mainly due to the larger number of meals eaten away from home by members of the city families. For the other routine tasks the figures are almost identical—about 7½ hours a week, on the average, for cleaning, 5¼ for laundering, 1½ for mending and 4½ for sewing.

EVEN for the different sections of the country, the pattern of time expenditure is amazingly uniform. For the women included in this study, homemaking is homemaking, as far as the average use of time is concerned, whether they live in the East, South, Middle West or West, or in country, village, town or city.

Sufficient evidence is at hand to suggest that the time pattern shown by this group is probably fairly typical of the farm and village housewife, at least in the middle-class homes. The women who kept the records are undoubtedly above the average in ability, income and interest in their work. Whether this would result in a larger amount of time spent in housekeeping because of higher standards or a smaller amount because of greater efficiency it is impossible to say. But it seems only too certain that most of the 12,000,000 rural housewives are still carrying full-time or over-time jobs.

For the 14,000,000 city homemakers the situation is not so clear. They are, of course, a far more varied group than the rural women, and the number of records from them is too small to be taken as representative of any of their many types. But the conclusion seems justified that even in the large cities the overworked housewife has by no means passed into history; in fact she may still outnumber the housewife with too much leisure.

How can we account for this situation? In view of the transfer from the home of the spinning and weaving and sewing, the butchering, baking and candlestick-making of our great-grandmother's day, in view of the decrease in the size of the family and of the smaller and more convenient houses in which we now live, why is it that so many homemakers are still overworked?

A partial answer is undoubtedly to be found in the regrettable fact that our great-grandmothers were even more overworked. Even more important, perhaps, is the fact that a larger share of the work of the home was formerly done by other members of the household. Not only were there more families employing hired help, but more had grandmothers, unmarried sisters, unmarried daughters living and working in the home. Much of the gain which the Industrial Revolution has so far brought has gone into reducing the work of the household to a one-worker job. A sixth of the homemakers included in the bureau study received no help whatever, either from paid workers or from members of the family. And on the average they received from all sources only 10 hours a week of help.

A THIRD explanation must be considered. The opinion is often heard that while the housekeeping tasks have diminished, the work of managing the family income and caring for children according to modern standards has greatly increased. From the standpoint of the homemaker's responsibility, this is undoubtedly true. But as far as the demands upon her time are concerned, the evidence seems to be against it. The homemakers in the bureau study spent an average of only 2½ hours a week in purchasing, planning and other management, and only 4½ hours in care of members of the family—in dressing and bathing children, in teaching, supervising and other direct care. It is the routine housework—the provision of meals, the care of the house, the laundering and mending—that still requires the bulk of the homemaker's time. She is still predominantly a housekeeper, rather than a household manager.

Yet another reason is sometimes advanced for the fact that the modern housewife is still so busy. According to these critics, she has wasted the freedom brought by the Industrial Revolution in inefficiency and elaboration of work. Even the farm homemaker with several young children would now have plenty of leisure, they claim, if she would organize her work as well as her great-grandmother did and adopt the old-time simple standards of housekeeping.

Now, there is no question that greater efficiency in housework and greater emphasis upon essentials would do much to lighten the homemaker's burdens. But if we remove the rosy spectacles through which we are apt to view the past, it is not at all certain that we would find there the model for which we are seeking. Concerning our great-grandmother's skill in managing her time we have, after all, very little knowledge. History does not reveal her substitute for a time schedule. Of her standards of housekeeping, however, we have some evidence. And when we recall the cakes and pies, the (*Continued on page* 331)

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# After Sixty-Five

By JANE ADDAMS

THE following statement was made of a young Frenchman, who, in the spring of 1914, recorded his last reflections upon life:

When we are young we do not immediately know where we shall hear those voices of our own time to which our virginal hearts will deeply and instinctively respond. They must come from figures of our own time, older than we are or they would not have found expression, but not old enough to have "arrived," so that we do not at once learn of their existence. Our teachers, as well as popular fame, thrust upon us the figures of the last generation, by whom they had themselves been inspired in youth, and these are, in general, precisely the figures to whom our instincts are most rebellious.

It is always difficult for a given individual to know just when he has become "a figure of the past generation" against whom youth's instincts rebel. But, after all, the young compose a smaller proportion of the world, year after year, as the prolongation of life increases, and we are authoritatively told that never before, in the history of mankind, were there so many people—both actually and proportionately—living upon the face of the earth who are more than 65 years old, as are living here at the present moment.

Not that we have done very much to be proud of with that increased span of life! In fact, the young people themselves in moments of exasperation, have been known to say that many of the follies of which they are accused in cabarets and other frivolous places are really carried on by older people who, dressed in the foolish clothing and the brilliant complexions of the young, are dancing and drinking to an excess that fills the actual young with dismay, and that most unfairly discredits "the coming generation." Doubtless these excessive imitators of youth are few in number although they may be considered symptomatic of a wide-spread tendency to prolong unduly the springtime of life.

Is it not possible for this newly enlarged elderly group, or at least for the individuals who compose it, to refrain from imitating another group simply because the latter possesses the natural glamour of youth; isn't it possible for each group to make its own contribution, if only because we know that the present moment—which after all must concern us more than the disappointing past or the irridescent future—is in the hands of the mixed lot of us; that we are of all ages and of all degrees of social usefulness; that happily the generations are never clean-cut, but are always inextricably mixed from the new-born babe to the admitted octogenarian.

If these mixed groups must push the world along as best they may, it is hardly fair for one of them to lazily pull out by pretending that it isn't there!

I am confident, therefore, that it is dangerous to insist upon simulating the ardors of youth for we may thus easily upset the balance; that if we carefully suppress all differences, even those inescapable differences of age, we run the risk of destroying a form of variety which has tried social value.

We are grateful for one thing which has resulted from the situation. The freshly accumulated group of the elderly at least avoid giving advice, and sedulously refrain from making critical comments upon the passing show. Perhaps this multitude of sixty-fivers and past sixty-fivers merely shirk from formulating their empirical knowledge, or they may have never learned to reflect or their vision has never become sufficiently keen and purged to attract the favorable notice of the young. More likely, they have failed to demand the truth from life and are therefore disconcerted when they find that youth will brook no insincerity and is also most impatient of second-hand opinions and platitudes.

Even as I write these words, however, I reflect that there is always a chance that the garnered wisdom of the old may turn out to be no wisdom at all, and in its strategic position of domestic tyranny and general dogmatism, there is an awful possibility that the aged will retard all attempts at progress simply because such attempts necessarily imply a change in the customs with which they have long been familiar. I uneasily recall what happens in certain Oriental countries, where old age proudly claims all its prerogatives. During a journey I once made around the world, suffragist as I was, I became much discouraged concerning the influence of old women; those in China insisting that little girl's feet must be firmly bound, although the practice had been forbidden by law and hotly repudiated by all of Young China; the old women in India insisting upon purdah at home and veils in the street, although some of the Indian women were voting and sitting as members of the city council of Bombay; the old women in Turkey and Eastern Europe—but why continue this doleful recital, when it is quite obvious that if, or rather when, the old women actually do exert themselves they become a social menace, probably there is nothing more dangerous in the world than the leadership of prestige based solely upon the authority of age.

IN contrast to this Eastern attitude, I recall an eightieth birthday party, given in Chicago long ago, at a table garlanded with eighty roses and seating eighty guests. Some one asked the birthday child how she had always kept so young and she promptly replied, that it was because she had always adopted an unpopular cause; first the abolition of slavery, when, as a young woman, she had lived in the pre-war South, and then votes for women, which she thought would last her to the end. She explained that no one put you on a pedestal and treated you with respect just because you were old, if you were the advocate of an unpopular cause, you had to defend it, discuss it and take your chances with the wits of the young.

One thing is clear out of all the contradictions; that the salvation of youth is not only its own salvation but the salvation of those against whom it rebels, but in that case there must be something vital and big to rebel against, and if the elderly stiffly refuse to put up a vigorous front of their own, it leaves the entire situation in a sort of roseate mist.

Whether we like it or not, our own experiences are more and more influenced by the experiences of widely scattered people; the modern world is developing an almost mystic sense of the continuity and interdependence of mankind.

We are obtaining a new sense of unexpected but yet inevitable action and reaction between ourselves and all the others who happen to be living upon the planet at the same moment. It lies with us who are here now to make this consciousness—as yet so fleeting and uncertain—the unique contribution of our time to that small handful of incentives which really motivates human conduct.



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# Vollmer and His College Cops

By ANNE ROLLER

SUPPOSE a gunman waiting for Chicago to cool off or a crook driven from New York City by Police Commissioner Whalen's recent round-up wanders as far west as the Coast. He reaches Berkeley, California, and there gets into mischief. The chances are he will be swiftly apprehended by a university student in policeman's uniform. Should he belong to that blasè breed looking in vain for something new under the sun, he will find life jazzed up by being driven to the station in the policeman's private automobile on the dashboard of which is a radio for instant communication with headquarters. Identified by means of his handwriting as well as by finger-prints and Bertillon measurements, he will next face a new kind of third degree, a strange machine that neatly separates falsehood from truth in the story he tells. Then will come the doctor's office and the laboratory; finally a long visit with the psychiatrist.

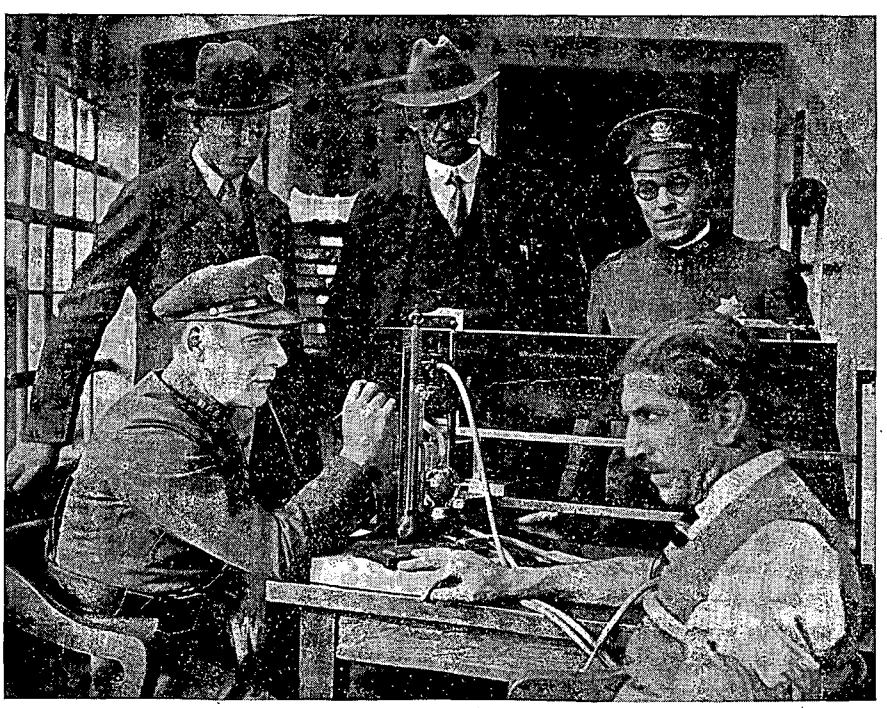
Berkeley is on the bay of San Francisco. It is distinctly modern—a cross between a university town and an industrial city. Under August Vollmer, chief of police, college-trained cops of the municipal police force are attempting to apply the findings of psychiatry to the investigation, treatment and prevention of crime. During the fascinating week of my hobnobbing with them, chief and staff alike defined their jobs in terms of behavior problems with the major emphasis upon prevention of crime through treatment of problem children.

Not that mechanical aids to police efficiency are here neglected. Vollmer twenty years ago invented a widely copied system of signalling patrolmen by means of lights and horns and is at present experimenting with radio communication. The "lie-detector" machine that records tell-tale changes in heart action and breathing accompanying deception was invented by Dr. John A. Larson in 1921 while a member of Vollmer's staff. The Berkeley Police Department was one of the pioneer users of finger-print identification introduced into this country from England about 1902 and Captain Lee of the Detective Division himself invented a system of identification by means of handwriting. The Record Division is a model of completeness, the *modus operandi* file for spotting criminals by their methods of operation, and the indexed records of recoverable articles sold to pawnbrokers being especially full. Microscopy and photography by experts on the staff search out the most minute clues, arrests in Berkeley burglaries being sometimes made on the evidence of a single hair.

Moreover, upon the simple mechanical fact that each patrolman drives his own car hinges the enormous speeding-up of arrests and the consequent close protection of homes and places of business. Last year arrests were made in 5,108 of the 10,174 complaints made to the department and $23,076.72, more than one-third of the property stolen, was returned to owners. It probably is not accidental that Berkeley has never had a payroll hold-up, and so unerringly swift is the follow-up on house burglaries that the city has an unsavory reputation among crooks.

ONE night a woman phoned that there was a burglar downstairs. Within two minutes the policeman on the beat arrived, in another minute officers from the two adjacent beats joined him. The burglar had heard the telephone click but had not figured on electric signals operated by a switch in front of the officer who received the message, nor on an automobile to every beat. Consequently he lost his gambler's chance of escape. The nearest patrolman was half a mile from the house when the woman telephoned. When he saw his code signal flashing he drove to a police telephone three blocks away, then to the house at a speed of thirty miles an hour. After each automobile has been equipped with the radio device so that patrolmen can get the red flash on their dashboards instantly and receive the message from headquarters through ear-phones the time element will almost disappear.

Noteworthy is the fact that this speeding-up of arrests due to automotive patrol is possible with a police force one-half that usually conceded necessary—



*The "lie-detector" machine which records tell-tale changes in heart action and breathing accompanying deception*



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*A scene from the movie recently made in Berkeley, California, in which Chief Vollmer and his staff played star roles for the Ben Wilson's Productions*

one policeman to every two thousand inhabitants instead of one to every thousand—so that in spite of upkeep of automobiles, signal systems and other efficiency aids, Berkeley, with a population of 80,000, operates its police department at less than any other city of its size in the country, the total expense for 1927-28 being $143,744.81.

But—here the trail leads past all familiar sign-posts into territory new to policemen—the where, who, how, are subordinated to the why and the why-not prevent. The story is told of four fires that destroyed four homes in the same neighborhood within a few days of each other. The only clue to the arson was a theory in the mind of the chief of police. From his office in the City Hall he detailed a group of patrolmen to interview every person in every house within four blocks of the area concerned. They were to arrest any feebleminded individual living away from his own home. The patrolmen found just one such person, a boy of seventeen who had run away from his parents in Chicago and was living with a family near the scene of the fires. Upon being arrested he confessed to all four crimes.

CHIEF VOLLMER told me, on the afternoon he showed me the work of his several divisions while we talked of crime and crime prevention, that the story was true in every particular.

"How did you know that a feebleminded person living away from home had set fire to those four houses?" I asked.

"See Gross' Criminal Psychology, chapter on Nostalgia," he replied.

This, in brief, is Vollmer's explanation. An incendiary fire is started usually by either a pyromaniac or a feebleminded individual reacting to a state of deep dejection. Criminal psychology indicates that it is characteristic of the pyromaniac to scatter his fires, whereas the mentally depressed feebleminded kindles them all near his place of dwelling. The natural inference in this case, since the fires were close together, was that the culprit was a feebleminded person living nearby.

But why away from his own home? According to Gross, the most likely cause of dejection in such a case was nostalgia or homesickness, which the incendiary tried to combat by a powerful stimulus to his senses. Therefore Vollmer told his patrolmen to search in the neighborhood of the fires for a feebleminded person who was homesick—and the citizens of Berkeley were protected from further ravages.

This practical application of psychology I found to be the keynote of the work of Berkeley's unique Police Department. Methods of understanding and controlling human behavior are considered of even greater importance, however, than methods of apprehending those whose behavior renders them dangerous. Every officer on the force cooperates with the Crime Prevention Division whose head, Elizabeth Anderson Lossing, is a graduate of Mills College with subsequent psychiatric training at the University of California, the New York School of Social Work and the New York Child Guidance Clinic; and Chief Vollmer, this analytically-minded dreamer, is deeply engrossed in plans for a "research institute for the study of human behavior" which will probably become part of the University of California, the Berkeley Police Department being used as a laboratory.

It follows that a policeman whose point of view is that of a psychiatric social worker must himself possess an unusual degree of intelligence and emotional stability. No applicant is considered who has had less than a highschool education and most of the men have had college work, five being full-fledged A.B.'s and three Ph.D.'s. If he meets the educational requirements, the applicant must pass a series of physical, neurological, psychometric and psychiatric tests, after which he is interviewed by Chief Vollmer and City Manager Edy, appointment resting with the latter. Not more than five or six of a hundred appli-

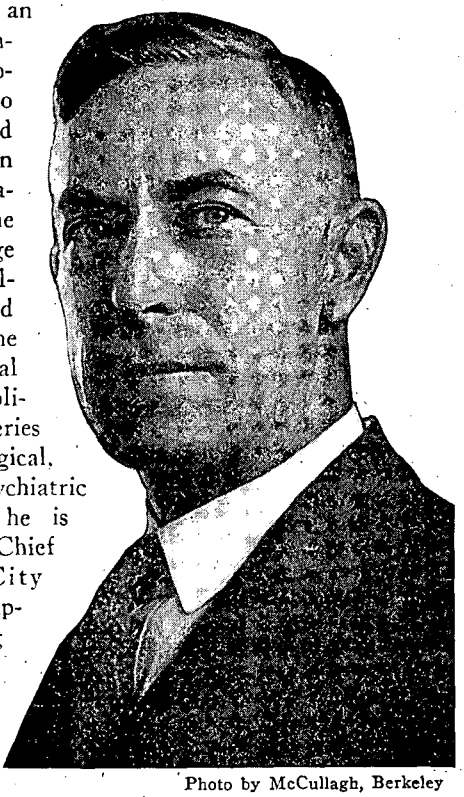

Photo by McCullagh, Berkeley

*Chief Vollmer has organized something new in crime investigation and control*

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cants pass. The final report of the officer whose record case I studied, "a citizen of the United States between the ages of 21 and 30, at least five feet nine inches tall, weighing not less 150 pounds, was as follows: "Mental age 19; graduate highschool and business college, university two years; intelligence rating A, very superior".

REGARDLESS of whether or not they are taking courses at the university probationary officers must attend recruit training-school at headquarters six hours a week during their first two years of service, instruction including military drill and target practice; local geography and city government; criminal law and procedure; criminal identification; psychiatry; organization and administration; crime prevention in the case of juveniles and potential delinquents. Examination in these subjects must be passed not only by the probationers but yearly by all officers below the rank of captain.

In addition to the above, special lectures and study courses are given during the Friday afternoon staff meetings when physicians, psychiatrists, professors and legal experts are available.

"And whenever a great specialist comes out to the coast, we sandbag him and drag him in," said Vollmer. "Dr. Albert Schneider of the University of California established our first curriculum in 1907, About 1914, Dr. H. H. Goddard gave a series of lectures on feeblemindness, followed by Dr. Jan Don Ball of San Francisco on mental diseases. Dr. William Healy and Dr. Herman M. Adler have both been here and a number of the boys took Adler's course in criminology at the university this summer."

"How much emphasis do you place upon formal schooling before a young man comes on your staff?" I asked.

"All things being equal," he replied, "we prefer a college man for the reason that usually he knows how to study. But we have sometimes chosen highschool graduates with studious minds and good horse-sense in preference to college men with lazy minds. Not all our men have the same degree of formal education but all must study and keep alert."

VOLLMER himself has no academic degree, having served in his youth on scout detail in the Philippines, then as letter-carrier for the Berkeley Post Office, later as town marshal, and since 1907 as chief of police. But in his big sunny office with its etchings and oil paintings of California subjects are long cases of books that testify to the fact that he sets a diligent example in the matter of keeping alert. Havelock Ellis' The Criminal stands beside Mary E. Richmond's Social Diagnosis. There are complete sets of Darwin and Spencer and a notable collection of works by important later biologists, criminologists, social workers and psychiatrists. He told me that he read on the average one technical book a week in addition to periodicals, of which his favorite is Mental Hygiene.

The unusual privilege was granted me of seeing the police officers together at Friday afternoon staff meeting. Thirty of the forty-five sat in a semi-circle, comfortable, at ease, chairs in many instances tilted back against the wall. With few exceptions they were men in their twenties or early thirties—clear-eyed, ruddy-cheeked, straight-limbed, husky and intelligent. There was no standing at attention when the chief entered the room, at this hour, as he had previously told me, all being equals and free to express whatever was on their minds, with a complete fraternity of interest.

As he stood there in the center of the group, I took advantage of the opportunity to study Vollmer's sun-bronzed face. Keen grey-blue eyes, their gaze singularly direct, one moment stern, the next shy, pleading for understanding: "I want you to get this straight;" a wide mouth with a sensitive quiver at the corner; a square jaw, its firmness accentuated by straight lines in his cheeks. These the characterizing features of a man in middle life with well-shaped head and iron-grey hair, six feet tall, with the shoulders and frame of an athlete and the face of a college professor.

"Why are you interested in police work?" I asked a handsome youth after the meeting.

"The variety of problems," he replied, "and because of the chief, of course; there isn't a fellow on the force who wouldn't jump into the bay if the chief told him to! Besides, it's an honor to belong to the Berkeley Police Department."

An entire morning with Officer George Brereton, patrolman of a beat including parts both of the university residential section and of the West Berkeley industrial section, gave me an opportunity to find out what a college cop looks for and thinks about while on patrol. When he called for me in his shiny automobile my big policeman with gentle manners was wearing a dark business suit instead of the regulation khaki uniform. I was much amused when he gave as the reason that if the citizens of Berkeley saw me driving with a uniformed policeman they would wonder why I had been arrested.

BRERETON'S first job was to investigate a complaint turned in by the manager of a Telegraph Avenue department store regarding the theft of an awning. When he arrived at the store the complainant reported that the missing article had since been found in a vacant lot next door and pointed out a spot where the high weeds had been trampled and crushed. Apparently the borrower had used the awning as a bedcover during the night.

"Aha," said the cop, "so we have here a person who needs a place to sleep! Maybe an ex-convict bent on mischief, maybe only somebody out of wrok and down on his luck. Up to me to find out which and to do something about it."

Getting at the human problem the unsocial behavior and then doing something about it—this seemed to Brereton's chief concern, and as our conversation unfolded I concluded that his terse summing-up of the case of the man who needed a place to sleep expressed his whole philosophy.

"Patroling a beat," he explained, as we drove slowly down the street and around a corner, "consists mostly of preventing trouble. That means looking for loiterers and persons in distress, keeping after business men about locks on their doors and lights over their safes, keeping an eye out for traffic hazards, broken watermains, unsanitary spots, watching pool-rooms and other places where gangs are likely to congregate, and so on.

"Protection and prevention, that's what we're for mostly, and the more we do, the less sensational crime we have to contend with. For instance, I try to know the youngsters on my beat, make friends with them and if I see tendencies that may lead to trouble, steer them towards the right help. A policeman ought to know the welfare agencies and how to use them. I'm thinking of a little boy in this neighborhood moron, leader of his gang, been in trouble several times—who is keeping fairly straight because he knows I have an eye on him. One thing I can't stand, though, is mothers

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scaring kids by telling them the cop will get them if they don't behave! I want them to think of me as a friend they can trust.

"Same way with the habitual criminals on my beat. Of course, I have to know where they live, what their past record is, keep track of what they are doing. If criminals know theyr'e being watched they'll be cautious about getting into mischief. But there's all the difference in the world between bullying them into good behavior and helping them want to go straight."

"How about curing their criminal tendencies?" I asked.

"That's an awfully difficult thing," he replied, "because the causes go so deep. If a person of a high degree of intelligence makes a slip, a profound inner change, something happening to his personality, may effect a cure. But so few criminals have a high degree of intelligence, or even a decent environment. If you can get at the kids when they first show delinquent tendencies, then you can often do something."

"How?" I insisted.

"Well," said Brereton, swinging slowly around another corner, "take the case of a burgular we picked up a year ago. One night I saw my signal flashing, 'phoned in, trouble in North Berkeley. Five or six of us went out, surrounded the house, found it had been entered, jewelry taken, man escaped, couldn't find anybody.

"FINALLY George and I made a wide circle farther away from the house, saw a man crossing under a street light, drove alongside, looked him over. He had on an army overcoat, wet from rain on one side only. We had passed a vacant lot where the grass was flattened out in a spot large enough to hold a man. Vagrant evidently, this might be our burglar. We asked him where he was going. He said to his brother's house, but couldn't give the street, seemed confused.. So I got out, pulled my gun and said, 'Stick 'em up!'

" 'You've got me, boys,' he said and put up his hands.

"Well, I searched him, got his gun, jimmy, flashlight and the rings he'd stolen. We took him to the Police Station and found a record a mile long, burglary mostly, a few safe-blowing jobs; been in Leavenworth and most everywhere else; got out of San Quentin just the week before.

"I was interested in how he happened to be a burglar, so I sat down and had a long talk with him. As usual, the trouble started in his early years and his criminal career could probably have been prevented at the time he first got into trouble.

"When he was fifteen, he was apprenticed to a New England farmer who was working him for all he could get out of him. The boy decided to join the Navy. While the farmer was in town, he opened the japanned box in which the man kept his money, intending to take out three or four dollars owing him. He found a thousand dollars in the box. It was his first temptation. He took the money, went to Boston, lost it at races, wrote home. His older brother came in hot haste, interested in the disgrace to the family, not in the boy. Said his father never wanted to see him again, forbade his telling his mother good-by, bought him a ticket to San Francisco and washed his hands of him. The boy came West, fell in with a criminal gang, and by the time we got him in his thirties it was too late to do anything except send him up again.

"He had acquired a philosophical attitude toward his game of beating the cops; it was easier than work and there was a thrill of danger, a contest of wits. If he won, he had enough to live on for awhile; if he lost, well, he was so used to the pen that he accepted it calmly. After a man's been sent up for the third time, there's little chance to change him. If this chap's father had been as interested in his son's welfare as he was in safeguarding his own vanity there'd probably be one less criminal in the world."

PUNISHMENT, as at present understood by courts and penal institutions, is of little avail in this policeman's opinion.

"Too simple—got to get back of the crime, understand human behavior. Sure lots of folks aren't safe to have around, got to be kept away from society, not for a short time and then paroled, but always. That's different, though, from our present assumption that we're all equally responsible for our acts, that punishment will cure us if we're bad."

I was curious to know what opinion he held on the subject of munimum educational requirements for policemen.

"It's too much at the present time to expect all policemen to be college men," he replied, "chiefly because salaries are too low and because nearly all police departments are controlled by politics so that highly trained men are not attracted. But even now I think all policemen should have at least a highschool education and should be given definite training in their police schools, studying not only their mechanical duties but also such subjects as psychiatry, educational psychology, social work. It goes without saying that they should be good physical specimens."

Among the college men in the Berkeley Police Department several are preparing to become specialists in the department, others hope to become police chiefs elsewhere, still others wish to enter the teaching field.

Brereton is among the latter. He acquired his interest in police work from his father, who left a professorship to become criminal investigator for the U. S. Forestry Service. Young Brereton entered the Berkeley Police Department at the age of 21 and during the past eight years has combined studying for his Ph.D. degree at the University of California with patrolling a beat. His ambition is to become a research professor in criminology, with an opportunity to study English and Continental police methods.

THE minimum salary for policemen in Berkeley is $160 per month, the maximum, $200. Each man owns his own automobile, cost of upkeep being paid by the department. Brereton, in 1927-28, covered 12,453 miles on 305 days at a cost of $630.22 for gas, oil and repairs.

"What's your busy season for crime " I put my final question as the cop was slowing down preparatory to depositing me on my doorstep.

"From September until spring on the Pacific Coast," he replied. "Criminals as well as millionaires migrate to a milder climate in winter. There's a definite economic basis for crime; in summer a man can get a job as fruit worker, sleeping out-of-doors, but in winter jobs are scarce, he's cold, he can't find a place to sleep, he resorts to stealing.

"Well, here we are. Afraid I haven't helped you much. You're very welcome, I'm sure."

On another day I called on Mrs. Lossing of the Crime Prevention Division. From the small reception office her secretary showed me into the children's room with its gaily painted furniture, cretonne

(*Continued on page* 323)

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# Our Town

*Scene I. A prominent educator of national reputation is addressing a group in which the following may be discerned:*

OUR perennial state senator, who is a network of nerves. He seems to devour a hand in an hour. But do not be deceived by this hyper-tension of muscles. He knows what he is doing and down there at the state house, he "knows the ropes" and loves them.

A little, bleary-eyed German of military pomp. The boys and girls call him "One, two, three, four" because through three generations he has taught calisthenics in the schools and has never failed to begin by saying briskly, with a short, sharp rise of the voice: "All ready, now, girls and boys! One, two, three, four!"

The county superintendent of schools—a giant with a little pig's head. He is dull, ignorant and egotistical but must be recognized as a pioneer, for some of our remoter communities are as primitive as Tibet sounds. He makes long, dry, boastful speeches and then disconcertingly asks "How was it?"

The president of our local college—a Ph.D. in psychology. His complete detachment and lack of egoism are almost beyond belief. His taste and dignity are unerring.

Sister G. of our Catholic college. A clever woman, trained at Columbia in psychology, she loves contacts with the outer world and is bravely trying to adjust herself to the denials of a nun's life.

An old school principal whom the town clutches to its bosom in a violently protective attitude. "Oust Miss C. and I remove my child from school!" is the ominous threat.

A thwarted historian, lawyer and senator, whose hopes for a brilliant career were choked off by an inferior wife who created a town scandal during a period of violent insanity. Crushed, he retired into a shell and has remained there ever since.

A Jewish mother who attends all these affairs with a bland Cheshire-Cat expression on her face. She loves nothing better than to discuss in detail her problematic children whom she frankly finds it a drudgery to bring up. She consults every one but never tries out the advice obtained.

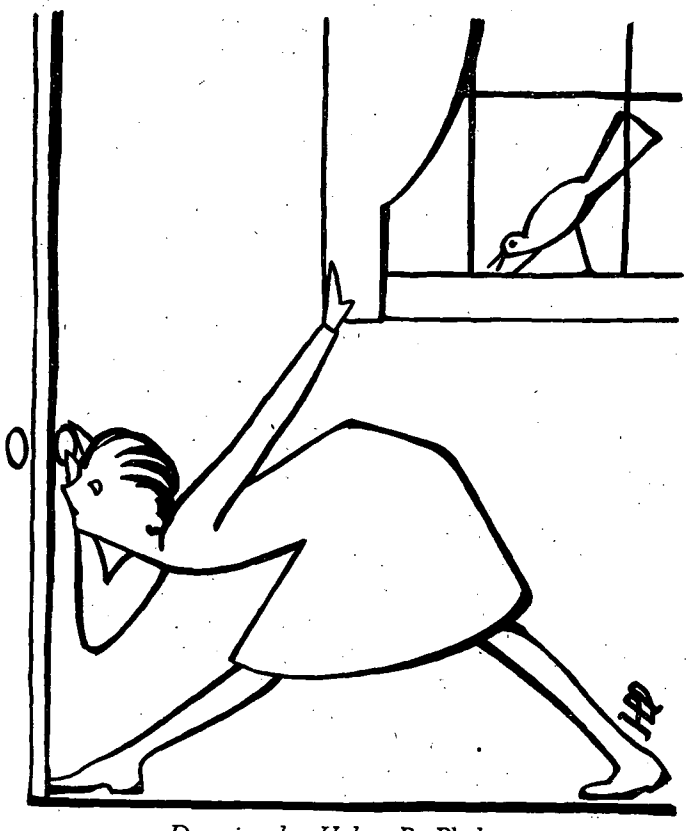
The president of the Woman's Club and the earnest type. She "feels very strongly" on every subject.

Our brilliant, fascinating, devastating Socialist. Forceful and charming, and utterly immoral.

An invalid young man who, through incredible physical suffering and the disappointments entailed by illness, has remained a stimulating, philosophical and charming individual.

Our *"grande dame du monde."* With an unquestionable distinction of bearing, she does not, however, quite command the reverence she expects. Her conversation, sprinkled with such bits as: "When we were in France with Rodin," "I have so many lovely things, it troubles me that I cannot share them with others," does not quite "get by" with us.

The Hoosier Juvenile Court judge—long, lanky, with



*Drawing by Helen B. Phelps*

revolting physical mannerisms, but nevertheless fascinating. He is shrewd, lovable and grossly egotistical.

A journalistic couple—clever, original and popular. Their animation and artistic taste just a little strained.

Another teacher who lost, in some unaccountable way, the protection of the town but was resourceful in shifting to Americanization and from that to Child Psychology. She commands the admiration of an impressionable if confused following.

An Episcopal dean who is famous for his eloquent speeches and equally famous for his neglected family.

A man who leans back and has a smile of solid-gold teeth—a director on our College Board, particularly valuable there because of his knack in handling legislators.

*Scene II. The annual meeting of the Board of Charities is being held. The following are among the faithful attendants at all such meetings:*

A SWEET, elderly lady who was one of the founders of the Y.W.C.A. and whose interest in a religious education for young girls has a Gladstonian tinge.

A mother of seven children, who for all the apparent completeness of her life, remains strangely un-sublimated and spends tremendous energy in Christianizing others.

A man who, unfortunately for him, combines a strong public spirit and a knack for raising money. He has been shouldered with the responsibility of raising funds for at least five organizations besides his church. His somewhat baffled expression is not, however, due, as one might suppose, to the struggles of wringing money out of grudging givers, but to his bewilderment over the crop of queer, un-



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controllable children he has produced. He seems to have decided that it is up to him to compensate society in some way and he has found a very practical method.

Our outstanding "humanitarian"—a good, plain, uninspired man for whom the problem of helping the poor never becomes so complex that the word *charity* will not solve it.

The amateur social worker—a society girl whose interest in social work was fraught with sex curiosity. Her indiscretions in conversation make one shudder for those who must rely on her for assistance.

Our "venereal-disease woman," thus attractively nicknamed because of her role as social worker in the city clinic for social diseases. She is vulgar and coarse, but *que voulez-vous?* She is at least genuine in her sympathy.

The woman who destroyed a beautiful de luxe set of Balzac when her maid's absorption in them revealed to her their contents. Horrified, and consistent in her desire for the moral education of girls, she felt the sacrifice was not too great.

A young philanthropist who has served on charitable committees since college, with sincere devotion, but being non-aggressive, his influence on social conditions is insignificant.

The methodical Englishman who is beating his head up against the wall in his position as Family Welfare secretary. This is not because we are so hopeless but because we do not fit into any of the pigeon-holes with which his mind is equipped and he can't see how to change the pigeon-holes.

Our police woman—a rabid anti-Catholic who uses detective methods in her work.

The charity worker who belongs to the food-basket, grocery-order school.

The W.C.T.U. pioneer—slender, middle-aged, with a beautiful, spiritual face—a fanatic of the purest kind. She invariably wears a little brown, circular cape which just reaches the shoulders.

A man who is conspicuous in his work on the Boy Scouts and Y.M.C.A. boards, a pious churchman and the crookedest lawyer in town. He is brilliant and had every opportunity to make an honorable reputation, but for some strange, twisted reason he deliberately selected a dishonest course.

The psychopathic charity worker—a strained expression on her face. She is on the defensive from the time she first sees you.

A pioneer of great creative genius—out of the wilderness he has built up a work farm of splendid equipment, using the inmates for all the construction. His methods of handling the men are intelligent and effective.

*Scene III. A public reception is being held in the Armory by our Chamber of Commerce to welcome a former citizen who has won distinction in the outside world since leaving us, but whom we shall always claim as our own (now that we find he is something to claim). Circulating through the crowds are a few individuals and groups worthy of attention:*

A narrow-minded, pompous, autocratic man, compensating at home and at church for his feeling of insignificance in the business and social world.

One of our pioneer millionaires. A type that is fast dying out, he is essentially a product of our region. Tall, silent, gruff, he suggests a giant tree. He knows lumber but his greatest wealth is due to the accidental discovery of mineral on some of his timber property. He is ignorant and superstitious and mulish.

Our town rotter—a man with a charming wife and daughters loyally defending him in the face of every one's knowledge of his weakness for shop-girls.

The woman who *will* stay youthful, greatly aided in this by a childish brain.

"Bruno," a lawyer who moves and talks like a grizzly bear. His nose was broken in his youth by a base-ball. His clothes are always mussed and his most characteristic action is a long, solemn look into one's face, followed by a grunt.

The man with a "specialized ability," according to his own diagnosis. Slight success inflated him and ensuing failure made of him a revolting, weak thing.

A man for whom the worship of the town was once close to religion. Now he is viewed with considerable skepticism. His greatest success has been to keep the reverent devotion of his high-minded, humorless, idealistic wife.

The woman who practically won the War by singing the Star Spangled Banner, wrapped up in the flag (American) at all great functions. She is a beautiful creature and for this and her willingness to toady, has been coddled by the "400."

Our edition of Damrosch—with apologies to Damrosch. Ours is no musician though he might have been. Some twenty years ago he still loved music for itself and did much to bring music to us but he could not stand the strain of financial pressure nor resist the opportunity to make money by commercializing his ability. He has cheapened himself and alienated a group of genuine musicians.

Two clowns married to each other. The continual competition between their wits is making them into irritable, neurotic beings. Something went wrong in the team-work, probably due to the fact that they waited too long to marry.

The "colonel"—a distinguished-looking army man who has shifted around considerably in hunting for his proper niche in civilian life.

A crooked invester—fleecer of servant girls. His family, pathetically struggling to deceive themselves, lie monstrously about his wealth, business ability, etc.

A bond salesman who finds every one else out of step with him.

The rude saint—a surgeon much beloved for his skill and ardor in his work and therefore pardoned for his boorish manners.

A witty, brave woman with no luck as to family, which includes a tuberculous, eccentric husband; a subnormal, psychotic daughter; a pathetic, derelict sister; and another pasty, grossly snobbish sister, who does not even acknowledge her relationship.

A rich, unscrupulous lawyer, also a pillar of the church. He is held in contempt by other lawyers who, however, never expose him.

The young architect who peppered out choicest lots with atrocities of the much-adorned box variety and for which the only defense is: "They are homes."

A picturesque crook in business with a flair for the dramatic. I sometimes think, now that he is old and broken and his histrionic talents are impaired, that the town owes him a pension for he has done more than his share to make life amusing and interesting. (*Continued on page* 330)

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# The Lighting System Improves

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

CERTAIN things need to be remembered about the so-called Reparations Conference, regardless of its immediate outcome. The most important of these is that that outcome in any event could settle nothing definitely. It was a committee of financial and economic experts, selected by the various governments, Allies in the late war which produced the problem, and by Germany, principal and protagonist among the defeated, to canvass the whole situation and come if possible to an agreement upon something to replace the Dawes Plan. But the president of the commission, Owen D. Young, and the other Americans serving with him, were neither commissioned nor selected by their own government. They served at the invitation of the others, as private individuals. So far as the record shows, "Washington" confined itself to refraining from objection to their participation. It is no great secret that "Washington" actually did not confine itself to that hands-off attitude, but in one way and another created the impression that it was to say the least keenly interested. And the essential cause of that interest, as it impressed itself upon the conference, took on the aspect of a two-fold anxiety—first, that the claims of the United States upon both Germany and the Allies should be regarded as partaking of a certain sanctity; no matter who else might scale down his demands, no suggestion must be made that we should do so; yet, second, that nothing must be done to emphasize our position as the Ultimate Beneficiary. It requires no great imagination to understand that this somewhat naive attitude must have caused substantial embarrassment to Mr. Young and his associates, in their effort to induce both sides to be "reasonable" to any extent, provided it involved no concessions of any sort on the part of the principal creditor of them all.

Be all that as it may, the fact remains that whatever the outcome of the conference, it could finally settle nothing. The agreement, if any, had still to be accepted afterward by a substantially unanimous action on the part of each and all of the Allied governments on the one hand, and the German government on the other. Pending such subsequent action, the Dawes Plan, practicable or impracticable, must remain in force.

NEVERTHELESS, agreement or no agreement, much will have been accomplished. With enormous labor and an almost unprecedented harmony of cooperation, the situation has been canvassed thoroughly, the facts and conditions in all respects have been collated and simplified, and the ensuing governmental action, which must be taken to *some* effect whether or no unless all Europe is to fall into financial and economic chaos, will have an intelligible basis. This has been in many ways the most important international gathering since the war, if not in the whole history of modern Europe. The time has not been wasted.

The greatest fact of all in ultimate significance has been the publicity surrounding the business. It is a perfect illustration of the increasing disposition to talk over, beforehand and during, and in a spirit as friendly as difficulty and natural human irritation permit, those things which in older days would have provoked continued misunderstanding if not actual conflict. This, regardless of the bleak terror with which all the world realizes now that another war would involve mutual if not universal destruction, not only of armies and navies but of non-combatants, cities, whole populations.

Every day and instance of such talking things over strengthens the habit. Moreover, the marvelous growth of means of quick communication, and the resulting increase of acquaintance and interdependence intellectual and moral as well as material, conspire to reduce that beclouding of issues and the diplomatic secrecy, backbiting and malignant gossip that used to be unavoidable. These things make it more difficult for those who profit by conflict to keep their peoples uninformed or misinformed. Beyond a doubt, the Reparations Conference would have gone to pieces long since, despite the best patience and good spirit on the part of some of the participants—had it not been conducted in the glare of light shining from all quarters. The most obdurate obstruction must heed the quickly-known reaction of far distant peoples, of the world as a whole. The lighting system of the world steadily improves; the dark corners diminish. International hijacking becomes more difficult as the light increases.

CONSIDER the implications and consequences of the present broadcasting by radio from the League of Nations headquarters at Geneva, in various languages—English, French, Dutch, German, Spanish. The request for responses, in order to ascertain range and effectiveness, brought word by radio, cable and mail that anyway it had reached Indio-China, Java, Northwest India, South Africa, Uruguay. Moreover, the news that the broadcasting was going out via the Dutch equipment awakened other countries to offer their facilities. Why should the Dutch monopolize this business of international interchange, when opportunity just as good and far-reaching was at the command of the French, the Germans, the Italians? An odd circumstance was that South Africa got its Geneva output, not from Geneva direct, but by way of Java; Uruguay picked it up by automatic relay from Nauen in Germany.

A new audience is being reached. Radio fans, interested chiefly in electricity and mechanics, to whom international affairs ordinarily would be dull esoteric stuff, are listening in as Geneva tells its story of international cooperation. Owners of little inexpensive radio sets in small towns below all the horizons are hearing at first-hand things that the politicians have taken immense pains to obscure.

And grows the practical need for a common language. In China, Timbuctoo and Vladivostok they will be wanting to know what means that queer speech that comes to them out of the surcharged air.

Slowly but surely the world learns of its unity. Progress in that direction has been much swifter than might have been expected. Let those of whatever type of mind, who impatiently expect the millenium before next Tuesday, or who darkly aver that war is incurably endemic in the nature of humanity—the same kind of people that used to talk that way about duelling—ask themselves how long it ought to have taken for the world to settle itself down into some reasonable degree of "normalcy"—whatever that may mean—after the upheaval of the World War and the Russian debacle. It seems to me that we have made astounding progress; that a new technique already has been permanently registered in (*Continued on page* 327)



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# Letters & Life

## In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

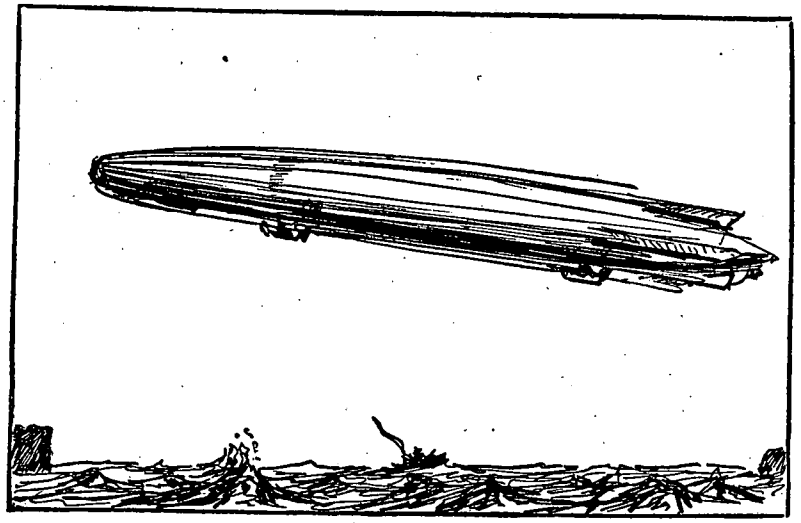
# Divers Creatures

THE ARCTIC RESCUE, *by Einar Lundborg. Viking Press. 221 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
ON THE BOTTOM, *by Lt.-Commander Edward Ellsberg. Dodd-Mead. 322 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
ONE MAN'S WAR, *by Lt. Bert Hall and John J. Niles. Holt. 353 pp. Price $4.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
BILL HAYWOOD'S BOOK: *an Autobiography. International Publishers. 368 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE UNTOLD STORY, *by Mary Desti. Liveright. 281 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
YOU CAN'T PRINT THAT, *by George Seldes. Payson-Clarke. 465 pp. Price $4.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE AFTERMATH, *by Winston Churchill. Scribners. 502 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THE race is radio-active as well as the atoms. Centers of force exist. I have been doing laboratory research on certain ones—brave, exotic, gambling, war-making, urgent, gay, or curious humans, revealed in books that if not literature, are fascinating and rich in life-stuff. They burn, not with Pater's hard, gem-like flame, but with a fierce energy that melts our elementals. They are the agents of political and social change; though not always the change they hoped. They are driven to act by their own inner urges. Half the time they have no plan; their philosophies are but after-thoughts, or vague goals, striving toward which they destroy or create, and weave like bobbins the new pattern of society. Their records are both comic and tragic, mean and noble, cruel and generous; but centers of force they are that prove the divine and indomitable fire of humanity.

Courage is their common gift, courage to be and to do. That courage is a challenge, restoring faith in the native vigor of life—a faith we need in these days of cultured pessimism. Here are books touched with primal emotions, breathless with adventure, warm with pageantry. True, you must discount their o'er-richness of drama; you do not get the dull days, the sick moments, the smoky monotony of burning from incandescence to incandescence. The ancient truth is forgotten that for every peak there must be a valley. The landscape becomes all mountain-tops, sometimes the gorgeous panorama of one peak. The mountain completely fills the picture.

ARCTIC Rescue by Einar Lundborg is that—the page from a Viking tale, illuminated with Twentieth Century miracles, airplane and radio. Lundborg, the son of a Swedish missionary, landed on the ice and brought out Nobile after the destruction of the dirigible Italia. Returning he smashed up beside the marooned Italians, and spent brutal, forlorn, primitive days waiting while the pack threatened to break up. Ice, sick men, the radio with its thin pleading into the polar ether, zooming planes, seeking, seeking and finally recapturing the tiny band from Death—these are recorded in an air-man's way, calm but tense, and free from politics or controversy. Lundborg is generous to Nobile in the matter of coming first off the ice to safety; he is modest; he is rooted in fact. But the moral is clear enough; we can still breed men to fight Nature in her grimmest place, and the machines help! Swede, Italian, Russian—all were brave men.



*From Man the Miracle Maker. By Hendrik Van Loon, Liveright, $3.50*

ON The Bottom is one of the thrilling tales of modern times, epic of the machine age. It proves the drama that is in science—that field novelist and poet leave almost untouched. Here were naval tugs, mechanics, engineers, and yes, certainly divers struggling against old devil Ocean, 132 feet below the surface, where the Submarine S-51 lay crushed by a collision, within her walls the dead crew, waiting to be raised and buried. No fervor of war, no menace of ice spurred the labor on. The soldiers were just plain men of the ranks, inspired by dogged leadership. They risked death hourly, day after day, in cold, terror, sucking slime, in channels scoured out of the ooze under the hull; and when they were dragged back to light and air, they had to be protected against the deadly "bends," after effects of the air pressure. They waited on stages, 50, 30 feet deep, doing daily dozens in diving suits to keep warm.

There is incident after incident of those who were rushed into the "decompression chamber" to keep their blood from bubbling them to death. Commander Ellsberg risked his own life to go down. Pontoons broke loose and bucked men into the sea. Everybody was a hero and forgot he was. Comic relief appears—grim but natural. New inventions to give light or cut steel under water were born. Storms ruin plans, pumps throb, air rushes, danger is like daily bread—and one day the S-51 rested in a Brooklyn dry-dock her dead restored, her lessons learned for all time. This seems almost a new kind of literature (it has no love part), for it is told with meticulous scientific pains and detail, yet no page but is gripping and the whole has the sweep of creative art. The virtues of peace

(*Continued on page* 314)



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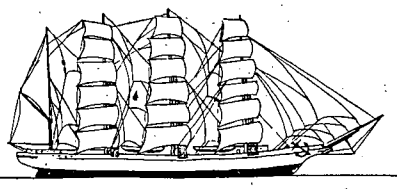
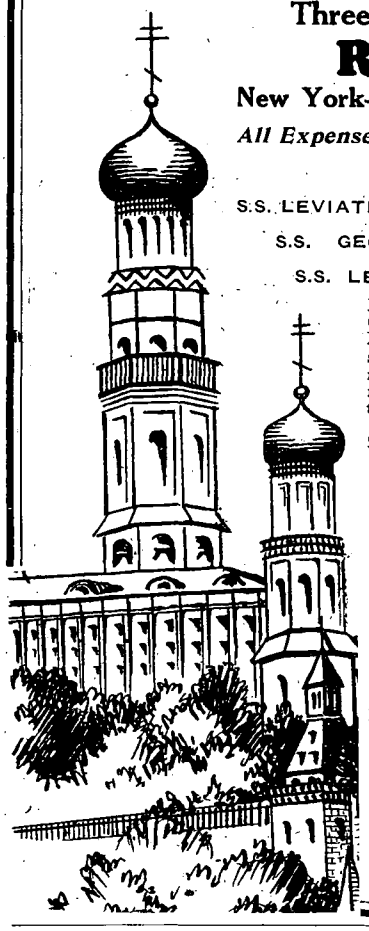


# TRAVELER'S NOTEBOOK

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## Gaily the Troubador

SPAIN'S expositions are on: Seville and Barcelona. A former member of our staff writes from Madrid:

I've been in this town five days and have just begun to be able to go out and come back without a keeper—the streets are so crooked and they run into so many little squares and circles—it is a geometrical picture puzzle. The taxi drivers are no help. They know no more than the strangers within their gates.

I like their plan of days in Madrid—you go out early and do your museums like the Prado and the Royal Armory and the gallant spectacle of guard mount at the Palace (which I reviewed in a downpour of rain and it did not dim the splendor). That is morning stuff—ten to one o'clock—before lunch. Being hungry as a bear, you eat enough to keep a starving family four days—and then you do like everybody else, take a nap or read, etc. About four or four-thirty you saunter out to Dona Margherita or some less extravagant cafe for a cup of tea or a cocktail—or whatever. Then at six o'clock you go to the theater for a matinee —*tarde*—and you get home for dinner about nine. If you are more sporty, you have nine o'clock dinner and go to the evening performance of opera, theater, vaudeville, etc., at ten-fifteen. The day leaves plenty of time for both business and pleasure—and one is not tired out when it is time to go and have fun.

The beautiful American building at Seville is the work of a Californian who has specialized in Spanish architecture—William Templeton Johnson of San Diego, long-time member of Survey Associates.

## The Nautch Girls

OUR choicest bit of competitive news is the Hindu flapper's (apparently they are international) invasion of the nautch girl's domain. These professional entertainers and dancers have long provided much local color, to say nothing of romantic tales. Against their modern amateur competitors, they are taking modern steps—organizing a union! What's more, they don't intend to stop there either. Among fairly extensive plans, is the opening of sort of a training school for movie actresses.

## The Way of the World

IT'S your maiden trip to Europe, with Paris—that universally famous city where most anything can, and does, happen—as your first goal. How impatient you are to be there! At last you are on land: actually aboard the train at Cherbourg—but bother, it won't be starting for several hours because another liner is due. It's just plain unfair to tax the human patience so! Now to "kill" time. You stand in the corridor of the train and look out upon a "bit of local color": a medley of impoverished and disfigured vendors—emaciated women in sabots and clothes you didn't image were still in existence; dried-up men—all standing several paces from the train—a debonair gendarme marching back and forth to see that they do not step over the boundary line—crying their none-too-attractive wares. Most of the passengers seem to enjoy it as a travesty; a few are handed articles for inspection by passersby; almost no one buys—"these devils are cheats!" What must their lives have been, and what can they be now, but—Hurrah, the other liner is in, the passengers are on board the train, and you're off for Paris!

## An Exceptional Chance

THE country which W. H. Hudson (author of Green Mansions) has immortalized in The Purple Land, is now accessible to the "third class" tourist. We salute the Institute of International Education, the Brazil Research Institute, and the Munson Line for their part in making possible a sixty days trip for the small sum of $395. Brazil, for the first time, is offering North Americans a special summer session of five



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courses by native professors, on its physical geography and topography, the political and social development of its people, its historical evolution from the period of colonization, its present economic and industrial status, and tropical biology as observed there (this last course is given in French; the others in English). Any three of these are free to members of the tour. If you read Hudson's book, you'll be itching to go. We can't resist quoting from the first and last pages:

I see before me one of the fairest habitations God has made for man. . . .

Farewell, beautiful land of sunshine and storm, of virtue and of crime; may the invaders of the future fare on your soil like those of the past and leave you in the end to your own devices; may the chivalrous instinct of Santa Coloma, the passion of Dolores, the loving-kindness of Candelaria still live in your children to brighten their lives with romance and beauty; may the blight of our superior civilization never fall on your wild flowers, or the yoke of our progress be laid on your herdsman—careless, graceful, music-loving as the birds—to make him like the sullen abject peasant of the Old World.

## Calendar of Events

May 14—16 incl.—25th anniversary convention of the International Advertising Associations will be held in Chicago;

(August 12—15) —and also in Berlin, where, according to Gilbert T. Hodges, "advertising will be presented in its broad economic and social aspects." The program will include discussions of Chain Store, Installment Buying, Color in Advertising and Industry, etc.

May 31—October—Perhaps the lightest and brightest celebration that even gay Atlantic City has known will be the fiftieth anniversary of the invention of the incandescent bulb by Thomas A. Edison.

Commencing June 13—Preceding the sessions of the First International Hospital Congress in Atlantic City, a group of about 100 distinguished hospital administrators, physicians and scientists, delegates to the Congress from thirty nations, will spend a week visiting American and Canadian hospitals. Dr. E. H. Lewinski-Corwin initiated the project of the international gathering.

June 19—23 —Fourth International Congress of Scientific Organization of Work, in Paris.

" 26—July 3 —A discussion meeting of the I.R.I. will be held at Schloss Elmau, Klais, Oberbayern, Germany, on Methods of Promoting Satisfactory Human Relations in a Scientifically Organized Industry.

" 28— " 4 —Dr. Glen Levin Swigget has been made organizing secretary of the movement sponsored by the National Education Association for the creation of an Inter-American Federation of Education Associations. Preliminary to a congress in 1930, there will be an informal conference on these dates in Atlanta, Ga.

July 10—24 —Leplay House, London, headquarters of the London Sociological Society, is planning a Summer Vacation Civic and Regional Survey Meeting at Stratford-on-Avon, intended especially for American students. Address Alexander Farquharson, 65 Belgrave Road, Westminster, S.W.1, London.

" 13—August 3—Lest the current strife in Mexico should discourage potential candidates for the seminar there which the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America has arranged, the director, Hubert C. Herring, announces they do not anticipate any difficulty. About one hundred tentative acceptances are already in hand.

" 19—23 —Fifth biennial congress of the International Chamber of Commerce, in Amsterdam.

" 25—August 3—Geneva is also the educational capital of the world this summer, with the Third Biennial Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations.

" 29— " 3—At about the same time and place, a conference has been called by the International Society for Crippled Children. Public health officials, institution workers, teachers in special schools for crippled children, etc., are cordially urged to attend. Mrs. Edith Reeves Solenberger at the Society headquarters, Elyria, Ohio, will furnish details.

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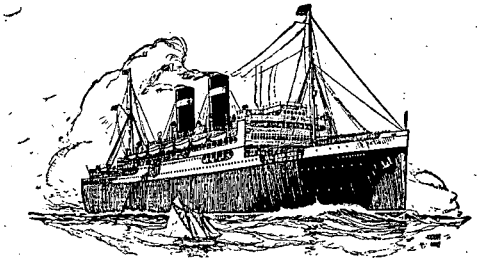

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## DIVERS CREATURES

(*Continued from page* 311)

too have their beauty—courage, endurance, esprit de corps, dogged hope—and what a tale they make!

CONTRAST One Man's War by Lieutenant Bert Hall, aviator extraordinary, one of two surviving members of the famous Lafayette Escadrille. It is the story of that immortal group, one of the supreme incarnations of courage in history. But somehow the courage seems wasted in that fantastic air-jousting, chivalry of the blue, in a war that left many of its heroes disillusioned. But that, messieurs, takes away no jot from the bravery of these youths, or from their faith in the cause they fought for. They were so young, so gay, so pitiful! They hunted mushrooms to forget; they kept score on their victories; Hall borrowed a girl's stocking-top for a mascot, and when he came back with a plane shot to pieces, guessed it must have been from the wrong leg. They burned briefly, yet with what splendor! I sometimes feel that these airmen of the World War experienced a new emotion for the race, compounded of speed, skill, fighting, and the sense of imminent death. Their lives were an ecstacy.

Something of this glints through Hall's almost diary-like record of fights, crashes, love-making, hilarious "binges," friendships, and dare-devilry while the days were a racing dream, intolerably sweet and sad, for they cascaded like lightning toward Death. This is a man's tale, not a molly-coddle's; Hall had been the hard-boiled soldier of fortune. He indulges in less philosophy than he feels, though the interlude he spent in Russia and the account of the emigrés' exodus across Siberia is moving and critical, raw stuff of a great novel. But in toto this is a preachment against war, not against Germans who were companions in a strange rivalry. Have we in peace no high walls for youth to die against in glorious challenge? The gifts they spent are what we need for living, not dying. We need to put banners on the walls of peace. Otherwise perhaps Lieutenant Hall's tragedy is that he did not fly on into Valhalla with his comrades, forever young.

BILL HAYWOOD was a force; he fought in the Great War—to him the class war; and without any of the trappings of society or culture behind him. He was the grim force that upbursts the coal from old Earth, the force generated by pent-up sense of age-long injustice; blind force, mayhap, but to be answered with, as Edwin Markham said. This rough driver-dreamer was American by blood, of our West by life, agitator by inner determination. He started as a cowboy and died in Soviet Moscow, part of an old picture, link to a new age. His life was violent, not wisely guided, but no one can deny he burned with some kind of precious fire. The strikes he lead, the fights he suffered in, the rough philosophy he helped carve, all served to make our age.

His book is not satisfying. It is dressed up, like labor on Sunday, talking for company. There are grievous omissions, such as the facts about his leaving the United States, and what he did and thought under the Soviet regime. What an "inside story" he could have told about the politics, the forces, the good and evil of the labor movement! The true story of Bill Haywood in his own language would have been a priceless document. We must be content with his view of the long period of strife from 1894 to 1918 when the I. W. W. broke itself against the war spirit. The story is not new, but it is full of human interest and human life on that little known level where men do world's work. I doubt whether we see his like again for the machine technology rules against his kind, and the frontier is gone. It is good to have what he thought he was, and to be reminded of the bitter struggle of which he was one incarnation, a blind force, lit with a native



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sweetness and idealism; the gentleness of greatness.

ISADORA DUNCAN was a great artist and a greater spirit. We have proof enough of that in the way words fail to imprison her. She lived her message. So neither her own life story or this tribute by a woman who loved and cared for her reveals why she seemed so rare a spirit to her friends. These are the tempestuous, suffering, seeking years from 1921 to her death. They tell of her disappointment in Russia where she foresaw a paradise for artists under the new rule; they paint the hectic interlude of her marriage to Yessenin, the cruel, beautiful, and irresponsible boy who, Mary Desti thinks, seized her imagination because he needed her maternal care. We see her grief and the fitful burning of her genius. Sometimes the events sound mad, sometimes sordid and pitiful as was her quest for money in the United States. Yet in all is shadowed a rare, free, questing soul asking of life more than life can give. She was the eternal mother seeking rest from sorrow. Perhaps she is a symbol of our age—the artist versus the machine. Note how wantonly and inexplicably the automobile fought her. The two children were drowned when a stalled car being cranked by the chauffeur leaped into the Seine. Isadora herself was strangled by an automobile that wound one of her own symbolic scarfs around her throat. Does the machine hate freedom and love and beauty? It is better for war than for art.

GEORGE SELDES, correspondent *par excellence,* has in him the energy of truth. Whenever he was thrown out of another country for telling the truth, he always brought the beans with him. Now he has spilled them in an exciting and picaresque tale of high adventures with the censors of the world. It is as thrilling as Beau Geste (indeed he inspired one Doty to escape from the Foreign Legion) but it is far more, a political document of importance. "I cling to the old-fashioned belief that the press is the most powerful estate and that the journalist should be the great moulder of public opinion," he declares. So he studies the forces that keep the United States from knowing the truth about other countries, and incidentally adds to the historical data of the past ten years. We face, he says, a veil woven by censors, foreign offices, international bond-houses, tourist and steamship organizations. Few newspapers are brave or strong enough to print the facts; correspondents are flattered or bullied into silence; the United States government does not protect American reporters.

In proof he gives page and line: what Mussolini has done to the press; how Mexico, our most important neighbor, is never revealed to us, partly because our newspapers hire cheap reporters for the job; how the Soviet regime insists on having a favorable picture presented to the rest of the world; how Marie's Rumania doctors the news. The reporter who bucks these forces must be a man of infinite resource, courage, and character. Seldes proves this. When he went to get the truth about the Syrian revolt, he was pursued and shot at. He signed and stamped his own passports when he found the French agent out. But he got to Damascus in time to send out the story of the shelling. Then the censor cancelled his story and let a much exaggerated version get to the world! There is one tale after another like that. They make this a vivid and important book, readable to the last drop.

THEN there is Winston Churchill. He's a force though not yet labelled. But this last volume of his personal panorama, 1918-1928, is disappointing, not good history, personalia, or rhetoric as were the preceding four. On the War, Churchill was vivid and often convincing; on the aftermath, he is faced with intangibles that he seems neither to understand nor interpret. He is best on the folly of the Allies and Greece in Asia Minor, and on the grim business of Ireland. That last is

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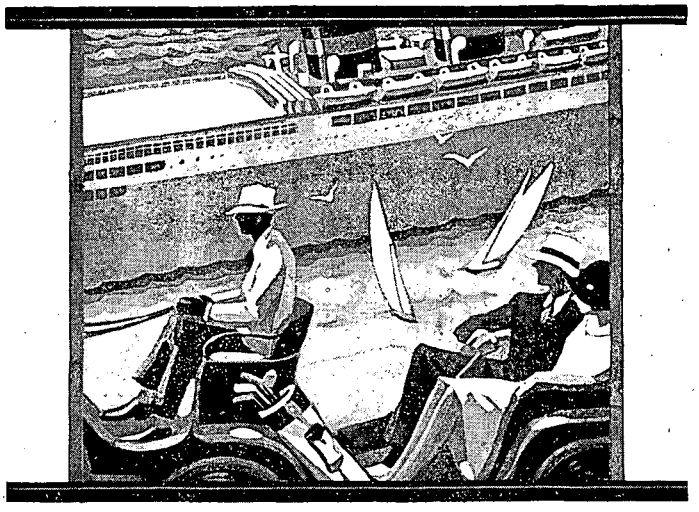

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brilliantly and personally told, and Winston had sound ideas about things, as he often had. But what sticks in mind is his mulish and vindictive rancor. He sneers at Wilson and the American attitude at the peace-making. He is blind to the forces that made Russia more than a scene of brutal murder though his hatred of the murders is righteous. But he hates equally the fact that Russia left the Allies in the lurch. His respect for strong men enables him to do a vivid picture of Lenin, which he ruins with venomous cynicism. "Lenin's body is still preserved in pickle for the curiosity of the Moscow public and the consolation of the faithful." The Bolshevik leaders were "subhuman or super-human, crocodiles with master-minds." The old phrase-making gift is there, but not aloof enough to pierce. Can the Boy Wonder be jealous of the strong men?

The book may be good for three things: It emphasizes the bloody chaos left by the War, reading like an inventory of useless slaughter. It shows how little sane guidance was left anywhere on earth. It exposes the final psychological urges of a Tory. It is less omniscient than of old for often when some senseless futile decision is made, Churchill throws up his hands, and says: "It is difficult to see what else could have been done." Well, everybody faced this difficulty, Wilson and even Lenin. This knowledge should by now have taught Winston Churchill some charity, some sense of humility. After all this is only the *human* race. But it burns.

LEON WHIPPLE

## B. Russell Explains

SCEPTICAL ESSAYS, *by Bertrand Russell. W. W. Norton & Co. 256 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

So versatile a philosopher as Bertrand Russell is bound to be entertaining on a holiday. Those who have heard him lecture will know what to expect; for, though he calls himself a rationalist (and in places a realist), he is really a cynic—and a very amusing one where the occasional unfairness of his attack does not irritate.

The sceptical essays deal with social as well as with strictly philosophical themes; they are best where they are interpretive—as for instance, of Whitehead's method; of the logical consequences of Einstein's discoveries for the concepts of space and time; or of his own theories. He is least happy where he has to take notice of temperaments that do not appeal to him. If he accuses others of maintaining antiquated doctrines by virtue of refusing to read of the scientific discoveries that should bear upon them, or of harboring a mystical faith in the guise of intellectual theses, it is easy to point out that he himself—in these popular essays as sometimes in his lectures—is apt to hide behind the "intolerably technical" nature of proofs which his own logic seems to require.

The introductory essay, on the value of scepticism, is perhaps the most needed contribution to the discussion of public issues at the present time. It is followed by chapters which illustrate afresh the evil effects of propaganda, the lack of freedom in our educational systems, and "the harm that good men do." However, not all the papers are mainly critical; there are also excursions into forecast and even into commendation of trends that permit an optimistic outlook.

Some of the essays are worth reading especially for their lucid and thought-provoking style. They explain both the author's present popularity and the fear which his espousal of unpopular causes inspired during the late years of war hysteria. In short, this collection will be a delight to discriminating readers who do not feel strong enough to climb those technical barriers to knowledge and truth in Russell's more important volumes, yet wish to know more or less what those learned dissertations are about and what relation, if any, they have to the everyday problems of thoughtful citizens.

BRUNO LASKER

*The Inquiry*



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# Mirror of a Man

ROBERT A. WOODS—CHAMPION OF DEMOCRACY, *by Eleanor H. Woods. Houghton, Mifflin. 376 pp. Price $5 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

HOWEVER long or well any reader knew Robert Archer Woods as friend or fellow-worker, this largely self-told story of his life will reveal much that no one person could know. These pages let best friends know him better, and acquaint those who knew him not with a man of outstanding character, achievement and leadership.

The versatility of his mind and the variety of his interests and activities will surprise those to whom he gave the impression of being possessed by one interest uppermost at a time. The range of his discussion and the by-play of his thought never gave any intimation of a single-track mind, however intent he was upon reaching the terminal of his purposeful speech.

Almost every specific expression of his opinion or of his reason for action is accompanied by the disclosure of his general attitude toward the principle or policy involved. To have gleaned and correlated such statements from his many published productions, from the mass of his manuscript notes, and from the memories of many years was an exacting task even in the labor of love, devotedly undertaken by Mrs. Woods.

The diversities so fully detailed emphasize the unity of a personality, which was shown to have been as self-collected in poise and as reflective in habit as his calm, reserved manner indicated. His Scotch-Irish parentage, his youth at reactionarily conservative Pittsburgh, his student years at liberalizing Amherst College and Andover Seminary, and his life work in critically-minded Boston, contributed characteristics that explain the balance he maintained between the conservative and radical tendencies he met in his social settlement residence at South End House. While this balance, fortified by his historical perspective and philosophical poise, inclined him to be opportunist in procedure, it did not dim his vision of ultimate ideals. His loyalty to them was unwavering. The man and his time reflect each other in writings quoted, and so the book gives us the man, self-revealed.

This counter reflection is most vivid as it mirrors the impressions which the settlement movement made upon one of its earliest pioneers, and those which he left upon it. Not only upon Boston's pioneer settlement which he founded, but also upon the whole settlement movement in America, of which he was the historian, Robert Woods set the hall-marks of a heritage. From Toynbee Hall, London's pioneer settlement, he brought the academic standards and religious spirit that gave it initiative. But he was foremost in helping our settlements find deeper local rootage in their own neighborhoods. Meanwhile by word and deed he insisted upon the city-wide, state-wide, nation-wide influence they should exert upon public opinion, legislation and administration.

This influence he himself acquired and was recognized to possess by the many municipal and state commissions officially entrusted to him, and by the many more appointments to serve academic, industrial, reformatory, social and religious interests —all which he regarded as settlement service. Outstanding among all these were his interpreting, mediating efforts to reconcile racial and industrial differences; to beget neighborly and civic consciousness, intelligence and cooperation; to rally and lead aggressive action for the suppression of the commercialized drink and vice evils; and to initiate and foster character-building measures and agencies. Some titles of his printed and spoken appeals ring like clarion calls to action, such as The City Wilderness, The Neighborhood in Nation Building, The Regimentation of the Free (his presidential address before the National Conference of Social Work), The World Empire of the Disinterested (his address to the American Board of Foreign Missions, upon his return from a world-round tour), and The Settlement Horizon, bidding the settlements to move ever forward from past achievements.

As one who shared his life and thought and feeling, Mrs. Woods lets her readers see the spoken and written word evolving from the deed, the principle and policy slowly formulating from the experience. Meanwhile these psychological processes are lit up by such incidental expressions of the human, humorous, patient, hopeful spirit as turn inside out the man that she—and he himself—knew Robert Woods to be.

We see him toilfully laying the foundations and rearing the superstructure of South End House; tactfully gathering, welding


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together, and developing the social intelligence of its resident household and its scattered giving constituency; gradually extending the reach and range of its influence and activities; humbly, but without misgiving, accepting unsought public responsibilities; struggling amidst ever pressing administrative cares to find time and place for the consecutive thought required to prepare his public addresses and produce his books. Yet, on neighborhood streets and in the industrial and political arenas as well as in the quiet of his own home or his summer refuge at Concord, he dwelt within the inner chamber, where he saw in secret what rewarded him and others openly.

Such a life, built into so many other lives and living movements, cannot die. It lives on in the works that follow his own and others' entrance into life more abundant. No one or more phrases can summarize either the qualities or the influential services of Robert A. Woods. He was indeed neighbor, democratic villager—citizen, interpreter and mediator—and, above all, in spirit, conduct and self-sacrificing service an humbly close follower of the Son of Man.

*Chicago Commons* GRAHAM TAYLOR

## Seen from a Park Avenue Window

THE CONSUMER LOOKS AT ADVERTISING, *by Paul T. Cherington. Harper. 196 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

PAUL CHERINGTON, sometime professor of marketing in the School of Business Administration at Harvard and now sage in ordinary to the J. Walter Thompson Company, writes with academic calm mid the hurly burly of the great advertising agency. The clipping bureaus from time to time have sent to the doctor's desk press-cuttings setting forth the unhappy speculations of a group of sad young men about the booming super-business of high-pressure selling. Cherington in a quiet way re-establishes the economic verities, and shows that value is not intrinsic to goods, but represents the estimate the buyer can be made to place upon them through a billion or two annually, spent to cast the glamour of unreality about the commonplace. He finds (at variance from the careful conclusions of scientists and engineers, and the more practical men of business), that out of an infinite welter of biased commercial claims with which the market is awash, truth finally emerges, dripping with slogans, blindfold tests, vitamins, and hormones, and agleam with ultra-violet rays.

Escape into realities by the road of tests and specifications, though adopted by hundreds of public utilities and progressive manufacturing companies as a potent means of increasing dividends, is in Cherington's view proper only to construction gang commissaries, almshouses and state prison administrations. The common man will best mold his life on the glint of a tin-foil wrapper and his well-conditioned pretty-girl hair-tonic and whiskers-cough-drop reflexes; and will hearken to the lessons of Captain Fried's timely rescue from the briny and General Bullard's advice to a gracile soldiery, both with benefit of Lucky Strikes.

Innumerable economic data, including the findings of the American Medical Association, that one ounce each of ten ethical medicines, cost $3.90 as compared to $16.15 for identical brand-marked proprietaries, simply do not exist for market-minded men. If they did, the extra $12.25 is readily accounted for to all right-thinking people as values a nation composed entirely of good-natured and opulent consumers is glad enough to pay. To Cherington, there are not 30,000,000 propertyless wage-earners of pinched income—three-quarters of the whole working population—who must do without good and sufficient food and warm clothing because many needful staples cost five to a hundred times what they would with efficient distribution, or because soap and breakfast foods and canned goods and medicines are habitually misrepresented and their values whooped up to thaumaturgic levels. Faintly hungry and perhaps a bit chilly, the wayfaring man nevertheless does not seek unbiased advice but buys what is advertised, and according to Cherington, in some recondite way impersonally sifts and compares and establishes the value of his purchases through the mystic operations of the competitive market—and may that give him cheer! But another great personality of the marketeering profession, Ray D. Lillibridge, Inc., holds the view that the purpose of advertising is to take goods out of competition, so that they will *not* be sifted (*Continued on page* 325)



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AMERICANS ALL
(*Continued from page* 300)

three factors, or rather to three great complexes of factors. First, foreign conditions on the whole have been none too favorable to American business and they have been eminently unfavorable to American agriculture. Second, such prosperity as we have enjoyed has been earned by many-sided and strenuous efforts, in which millions of people have shared to improve our technical methods, our business management, our trade-union policy and our government administration. Third, while increasing efficiency has added to real income it has put pressure, often rising to severe hardship, upon competitors direct and indirect. The factory hand competing with the automatic machine, the horse farmer competing with the tractor farmer, the lumber industry competing with the cement industry, the New England cotton mill competing with the North Carolina cotton mill, the independent retailers competing with the chain store, the clothing trade competing with the makers of automobiles and radios for slices of the consumer's dollar have had a hard time.

This analysis is not simple, but it is still too schematic. There is no hope of learning and telling the whole story in realistic detail. Yet one further factor of great moment and two sets of "economic reactions" must be introduced before a summing up is attempted.

The additional factor to be taken into account concerns population growth. A reduction of birth-rates has been going on during our period in most states of the Union. The decline seems to be more rapid than the decline in death-rates. Moreover, first the war and then legislation restricted immigration. This decline in population growth has affected the whole social situation profoundly in ways which concern the student of sociology and politics quite as deeply as they concern the economist. It will be long before the full effects upon national life become clear, but certain prompt, economic consequences must be noted.

In most periods of prosperity, the lag of wages behind living costs continues and gradually deprives working people of part of whatever gain they made from the lag in the preceding depression. The indications are that these prosperity losses to wage-earners have not cut much figure during 1922-27. Wholesale prices have sagged slightly and living costs have advanced but little. Though the percentage of unemployment has risen since 1923, wage-rates have been firmly maintained on the whole, if not increased somewhat.

THESE results must be ascribed in part to the relatively slow increase in population and hence in the number of job hunters. Had there been no war check on immigration in 1914-21, the rise of money wages would probably have been less than it was, and the fall greater. Had there been no legal check on immigration in 1922-27, the increase of unemployment would probably have grown very serious and the difficulty of maintaining wage-rates would have been enhanced. Birth-rate reductions have worked in the same direction. It is doubtful whether belief in the economy of high wages would have spread so rapidly among employers could they have filled their shops readily with lower priced men. Since birth-rate restriction seems to be voluntary and since immigration restriction certainly is, we must conclude that Americans are preferring to raise the economic



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level of average life rather than to maximize national wealth.

The two sets of economic reactions still to be noted may be thought of as the mutually moderating effects of factors opposing each other and as the mutually intensifying effects of factors working in the same direction.

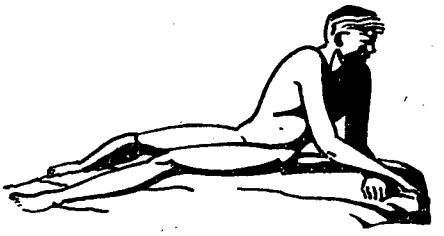
American prosperity in 1922-27 in non-agricultural lines would have been decidedly greater had the six million American farmers been flourishing. Every man thrown out of work has subtracted an iota from the national dividend and an iota from the demand for goods. Every business that has failed has made a tiny difference in our ability to provide for our wants and to market our products. The United States as a whole would have been better off if all foreign countries had enjoyed fortunes equal to our own.

ON the other hand, the farmers would have been in far worse plight if the majority of Americans had not been receiving relatively large incomes, and if American factories and railways had not been highly efficient as servants of agriculture. So, too, the unemployed would have been more numerous and their difficulties in getting new jobs greater, had the country suffered a serious industrial depression. Finally, other countries would have been worse off had we not been in a position to import freely and to make large loans.

There can be no doubt about the reality or the importance of these reactions of hardship in diminishing prosperity and of prosperity in diminishing hardship. But there seems to be no way of measuring such complicated influences with the data available.

Clearer still are the effects of one favorable development in reinforcing other favorable developments, and the corresponding intensification of misfortune by misfortune. In this period and in our country the former set of cumulations have been more in evidence than the latter. It is necessary to bring these reactions of favorable developments upon each other into the foreground of our final picture.

Take, for example, keener intelligence applied to the day's work, which increased the physical output of goods. That has meant the possibility of larger average real incomes per capita. To distribute these goods market experts cultivated the desires of the people for a freer and more varied consumption; they developed plans by which the eager could satisfy wants before they could pay. A sound monetary and banking system provided the requisite currency and credit to run this whole process of producing and distributing a swelling river of goods. Price fluctuations were held within narrow limits by a combination of prudence among business men, unit-cost reductions by technical experts, the skill of bankers and the course of foreign markets. This relative stability of prices reenforced the pressure upon all parties to exercise caution, calculate closely and watch costs; it also helped to keep world prices relatively stable. Since prices were not buoyant, business enterprise had to maintain a high level of efficency in order to make profits, and that fact intensified the application of intelligence with which this paragraph started. By the aid of the reenforced efficiency it has been possible to pay high wages and salaries, meet interest and rental charges, distribute liberal dividends and still retain large surplusses for protecting or expanding business ventures. The large income disbursements provided the purchasing power to which the market experts appealed for the purchase of the increased physical output of goods. Meanwhile the considerable profits reaped by the large number of efficient enterprises made them eager to grow. At

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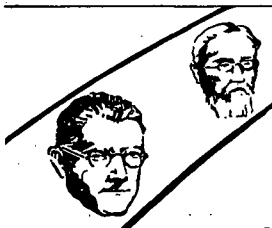
# PSYCHOLOGY



ABOUT five years ago the General Reading Public took up psychology. Since then, not even a specialist could keep track of the flood of books on the subject.

AMONG the first books on psychology for the general reader were Everett Dean Martin's SYCHOLOGY, John B. Watson's BEHAVIORISM, and H. A. Overstreet's INFLUENCING HUMAN BEHAVIOR. Since then there have been innumerable books "popularizing" psychology — books on the psychology of everything from sex to salesmanship. Some of them, in their time, were best-sellers. Martin, Watson, and Overstreet are *still* selling. They are established authorities.

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*Head of the Department of Psychology, University of Michigan*

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the same time prosperous families wanted better housing; prosperous communities wanted larger schools; prosperous states wanted hard-surfaced roads. So the routine business of providing current income was supplemented by an exceptional volume to new construction to provide industrial equipment of all kinds—office buildings, single dwellings, apartments, hotels, theaters, schools and highways. That required capital running into the billions of dollars. The demand was met without strain from the surplusses of business enterprises and the savings of individuals whose higher standards of living had not absorbed all of their money incomes. And of course the construction work as it proceeded enlarged the market for a vast variety of goods, and enlarged the disbursements of income.

SO one might go on indefinitely, tracing the fashion in which each of the prosperity-producing factors in the situation has increased the activity out of which it grew, and thus promoted conditions which heightened its own efficiency. The broad facts, however, are patent. And no elaboration would lead to a convincing evaluation of what credit belongs to any single factor taken by itself. Drop out any of the developments recalled in the preceding paragraph and the process as a whole would be altered.

Finally, we return to figures of per-capita income as the best general conclusion of the whole investigation. Two series of figures are given. The first shows income received in money; the second "disbursed income"—that is, money receipts plus the value of income yielded by homes occupied by their owners and by household goods, the value of farm produce consumed by the producers, and minor items of similar nature. The first series corresponds closely to the common conception of income, but the second is a better index of economic welfare. The comments that follow refer to the second series.

PER CAPITA INCOME IN THE UNITED STATES
EXPRESSED IN 1925 DOLLARS

| | Income received in money | Disbursed income |
|---|---|---|
| 1913 | $551 | $625 |
| 1917 | 573 | 663 |
| 1919 | 510 | 608 |
| 1920 | 520 | 597 |
| 1921 | 500 | 572 |
| 1922 | 558 | 623 |
| 1923 | 617 | 678 |
| 1924 | 629 | 697 |
| 1925 | 649 | 714 |
| 1926 | 663[1] | 727[1] |

[1] Preliminary

FROM the trough in which the war and the war-dominated cycle of 1919-21 left the country, Americans raised their average fortuntes almost, but not quite, to the pre-war level in a single year of reviving activity. A second year of great gains left the old records far behind. Since 1923, progress has been steady, but less rapid.

Unless the figures are very far in error, not only absolutely but also relatively, the final verdict upon the years 1922-26, and presumably 1927 and 1928, for which the income-record is yet incomplete, must be that they brought prosperity to most of our people—though by no means to all.

Forecasting the future is not part of our task. But we should not close the present record without noting that the last few years may appear less satisfactory from the viewpoint of say 1932 than from that of 1928. Anyone who summed up recent developments in 1917, or in 1920, might



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easily have been betrayed into serious misrepresentation.

One of the most significant features of 1922-1928 has been the narrow range of such fluctuations as have occurred in economic activity. Business cycles have not ceased to run their course; but the amplitude of the swings from trough to crest of the waves and from crest to trough has been slight. The mildness of these fluctuations offers no guarantee that the business years ahead will be equally calm. Perhaps the period of expansion now under way will pursue as moderate a course and have as quiet an ending as the expansion which began in 1924. But if that is to happen, American business men must hold to the prudent policies which they followed in the preceding cycle. Commodity stocks must be kept in line with current sales. Over-commitments of all sorts must be avoided. The extension of industrial equipment must not be pushed too rapidly. Incomes disbursed to consumers must be maintained on a scale sufficient to buy the consumer's goods sent to market. Security prices must not outrun prospective profits capitalized at the going rates of interest. The whole credit structure must be kept in due adjustment to bank resources.

These and the similar matters which might be mentioned present difficult problems of management. Perhaps errors are still being kept within the limits of tolerance. Perhaps no bursting strain will develop at any point in the balanced system for years to come. But if the business public comes to believe that crises are a thing of the past in the United States, then a crisis is likely to develop.

Even on the present showing, all is not well with the republic. The condition of agriculture, the volume of unemployment, the textile trades, coal mining and the leather industries present grave problems not only to the people immediately concerned, but also to their fellow citizens. How rapidly these conditions will improve, we do not know. Perhaps some will grow worse.

Looking further ahead, we do not know whether the present rate of progress in the arts of industry and business can be maintained. Past experience suggests that the pace will slacken presently, and that years may go by before we see such another spurt. But that is a matter in which experience is not a trustworthy guide. Perhaps some of the industries little affected by applications of intelligence in 1922-27 will have their turns presently and catch up with the procession of technical progress. All that is certain in this respect is that whatever progress in efficiency we continue to make must be earned by the same type of bold and intelligent work that has won our recent successes.

VOLLMER AND HIS COLLEGE COPS
(*Continued from page* 307)

drapes, pictures, and games. In one corner stood a papier mâché miniature of Carmel Mission, on the walls were crude drawings contributed by some of the youthful predelinquents. I could easily understand how trembling youngsters who had been dragged to the Police Station "to have fear of the law scared into them," might here regain composure while awaiting an interview with the stout motherly woman whose black eyes were so penetrating and yet so kind.

I found the policewoman at a desk in her private office whose cheerful walls and long table filled with magazines created an atmosphere in harmony with the children's room.

"How does the Crime Prevention Division prevent crime?" I asked.


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"How does any psychiatric social worker handle behavior problems?" countered Mrs. Lossing. "Usually I take care of my cases without recourse to legal machinery. Medical examinations at the Berkeley Health Center and psychiatric examinations at the Child Guidance Clinic help diagnose the causes of the child's misbehavior. Improving home conditions, finding outlets for excessive energy and latent talents, cooperating with teachers, having the child report to me at intervals—you know what social workers mean by intensive treatment."

Efforts at crime prevention are not centered wholly in the policewomen's department. One of the male officers does special work with boys over twelve, and there is a complete health examination in all cases of adult men where physical or mental maladjustment is indicated. I am indebted to Sunset Magazine for a pertinent illustration.

In asking that jail sentence be withheld, Vollmer said, "This man, as is customary with offenders brought to our department, has been subjected to five types of examination: psychiatric, neurological (including blood tests and spinal fluid tests), sociological, psychological and ophthalmoscopical. As a result of these examinations our police clinic finds that the immediate cause of the man's offense was a condition of toxic psychosis, induced by influenza. This is curable if he is placed at once in good medical care. It is incurable if he is sent to prison. When once cured of this ailment, for which he is in no way responsible, he will be as good a member of society as any of us. If he is sent to jail he will probably develop into a criminal past redemption".

This shift from hounding and bull-dozing to understanding and curing criminals seemed to me the most significant contribution of August Vollmer to police administration.

"But we know so little," he emphasized time and again. "What we need is research. For years we've been making studies of trees and of hogs but the universities have been slow in establishing research departments to study abnormal behavior among humans. Healy in Boston and Adler in Chicago have made a beginning.

"This much we do know, if we are to prevent crime, we've got to start with the children. Get the picture of Uncle Sam looking down on the kindergarten children of today, one out of every fifty doomed to a hospital for the insane or a penitentiary. Through Child Guidance Clinics, through patient study and treatment such as we are attempting in Berkeley with our Coordinating Council, we must get hold of the problem children. There is enough foundation for a science of police work in our present knowledge of psychology and psychiatry and continuous research will increase that knowledge."

The outline of the proposed institute for research as submitted by Vollmer to the University of California recommends five departments: criminal psychiatry, criminal investigation, crminal procedure, sociological and economic factors in crime, police administration—to be carried on by five experts aided by "students at the university, Berkeley police officers and other social workers."

Visionary, you say? Yes, it was the vision of a youthful chief of police who saw beyond the accepted ways of policing a community. Out of that vision came the most complete police school in the country, numerous inventions, a preventative program that gets down to brass tacks by using tools already present. All this, be it remembered, while operating a most economical police department and establishing a reputation for making Berkeley a safe city in which to live. If so practical a visionary in his rich middle life reaches out for research in human behavior in order to help stem the tide of future criminals, the world might well profit by heeding his vision.



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(*Continued from page* 318) and compared, but will be uncritically accepted by the buyer. It is all very confusing, and to a consumer who spends more for goods than he makes out of the business of advertising them, just a little touched with madness.

In the meantime we are to take Cascarets instead of exercise —as the advertising advises—and we may eat candy to grow thin, because a careful scientist's work has been neatly misquoted in the nation's greatest weekly to the effect that fats burn in the flame of the carbohydrates. "Sugar O.K. for Teeth, says M. D.," runs a headline thoughtfully composed for the newspapers by the tall-story department of the sugar trade.

"If I am not satisfied, I can avoid being caught a second time by these same goods," says Cherington. This at once disposes of any timid doubts that might beset one in seeking to come at a proper attitude toward these shrewd assaults upon one's meagre but hard-won hygiene knowledge.

The very title of Professor Cherington's book is a tribute to the roguish good humor of the ad-man's art. If the director of research of the J. Walter Thompson Company is a consumer looking at advertising, then I am cast for a well-paid post as public relations counsel of the American Association of Advertising Agencies.

*Mechanical Engineer, New York City* F. J. SCHLINK

## Both Sides of the Color Line

THE BLACKER THE BERRY, *by Wallace Thurman. Macauly. 262 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

PLUM BUN, *by Jessie R. Fauset. F. A. Stokes. 379 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

ONE wishes these novels by two of the younger Negro writers were better balanced in technical merit, for in theme they are in important complementary contrast. Negro fiction is now near its acme, at least as far as public interest goes; the inner mechanisms of Negro life are close to the surface after generations of repression. Of course the psychological mainspring is the Negro's own reaction to prejudice. Here on the one hand we have the story of a black girl harrassed in her adjustments to life by the subtle color prejudice of the mulatto-complex from within, and on the other the equally difficult, near-tragic drama of escape by Angela, the heroine of Plum Bun, who "passes" and follows the logic of her artistic talent across the color-line.

Both novels mark significant points in that process of self-revelation to which the "new Negro" writer has set himself. Unfortunately Mr. Thurman's first novel must be regarded as a ground-breaker only, as calling attention to an important theme—Emma Lou, the dark girl's story, must be written sometime with greater art and a truer sense of values. For this novel in itself is sophomoric in style and downright exhibitionist in psychology. Drab realism of the favorite contemporary sort plainly misses the characteristic notes of Negro life, the warm emotional color, the naive paradoxes, the fascinating amorality, and the quizzical humor. Missing these things, Mr. Thurman's book is more Caucasian than many a book by sympathetic and artistic white writers like Du Bose Heyward or Julia Peterkin. Still, one of the most important chapters of Negro life has been opened up, and he who reads between the lines may see the tragedy that this journalistic melodrama spotlights.

The other book is a second venture by the author of There Is Confusion, and is a far more mature rendering of life both in style and substance. Angela's return to the race through the discovery of mixed blood in her fair-skinned lover is just as logical and as human as her resolve to venture out beyond the color-line. Here the motivation is what it normally is, life reaching out over limitations for larger living, and not just the mere canker of adopted illusions. Yet there is this latter element in Negro life also; only its tragedy must be written sympathetically and humanely.

Gradually we may say the Negro character in fiction is throwing off the wrappings of caricature and stereotype; the creatures which propaganda and counter-propaganda have given us have one common defect, they haven't been convincingly human. When they become fully so, Negro fiction will become what it should be, a vital department of art, a significant section of life and not an extension of politics and sociology. Of Miss Fauset's settings, Philadelphia, New York, Paris, Philadelphia


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is the most competently rendered; and this quiet pool of respectable Negro middle-class life is too often disregarded for the swift muddy waters of the Negro underworld and the hectic rapids and cataracts of Harlem.

With the re-publication after twenty-five years of Chestnutt, the pioneer novelist's Conjure Woman and the announcement of Banjo, Claude McKay's sequel to Home to Harlem, surely it is an open season for the Negro novelist.

*Howard University* ALAIN LOCKE

## Education Abroad

THE RURAL SCHOOLS OF NORWAY, *by Arne Sigurd Jensen. Stratford Company. 280 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

"IN order to evaluate the theories and practices of elementary education in our own country it is of great value to have a thorough knowledge of similar institutions in different countries." Education is an international as well as a national problem. Human nature is much the same the world over.

Dr. Jensen has traced the development of modern rural education in Norway and having spent his boyhood in Norway as well as seven years in its schools is able to write with a rich background of experience. He takes the reader back to Norway in the first chapters showing clearly how a country with such marked physical features will necessarily effect the life of the people and the political, cultural, economical, industrial and social development. We read and ponder thereon. Isn't it interesting to note that the division of the school year with frequent short vacations and sometimes attendance every other day makes it possible for the older children to assist their parents in the various tasks and still have their school attendance perfect? There is very little illiteracy in Norway. Little coercion is needed to have the children attend schools regularly. We also find food for thought in the deliberate differentiation of the urban and rural schools. You will want to read the entire chapters on the rural school curriculum. The student will find the Bibliography of educational literature of Norway, prepared by the library staff of Norway, very valuable.

Although it is evident that a progressive spirit rules in the field of curriculum reorganization, the methods seem less progressive than those of many schools. One feels that as yet "Subject matter and not the child" is the center in their organization, yet Norway strives with the rest for "new light."

MARY BLANCHE ROBERTS
*Spring Road School, Vineland, N. J.*

## The Twain will Meet

ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL CULTURE, *by Maurice Parmelee. Century Co. 379 pp. and illustrations. Price $4.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

IN the narrative mood and language of the returned traveller, Professor Parmelee here attempts the difficult task of comparing Oriental and Occidental cultures. Avoiding technicalities, frank as to his sources of information (which often are limited), and claiming no greater exactitude for his conclusions than under the circumstances they can have, he yet makes a substantial contribution to a subject upon which a number of more specialized studies are now under way.

To what extent has the Occident really penetrated the pattern of Oriental living and thinking? What are essential differences which are likely to remain when the present process of westernization shall have been carried to its limit? What problems arise now, or are likely to arise in the future, from the contacts of Oriental and Occidental cultures? These questions cannot, of course, be answered in one book; but it is well to ask them, especially when the questioner is as well equipped as the present author to observe and record significant facts and trends. For the West, the impact of new influences from the East has not yet become critical; but the changes that now remould Asia are bound to react upon all our economic, political and cultural circumstances in the not distant future.

The book is divided into two parts, one devoted to description and comparison, the other to problems of contact and assimilation. Of course, a book of this sort is bound to be colored by the author's attitudes. One gathers that Professor Parmelee is not particularly sympathetic toward Indian mysticism and, perhaps, does not altogether do justice to the contribution which it may yet make to an undeveloped side of our Caucasian perceptivity. On the other hand, he is very



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sympathetic with the troubles of China and displays what seems a real understanding of the sources of Far Eastern feeling against foreigners. In short, though opinions will differ on some of his inferences, the author is giving us a readable and informing general survey over those mutual influences between large ethnic aggregates which will determine, more than any other, what the future of our own civilization is to be.

BRUNO LASKER

*The Inquiry*

## THE CONSUMER—AND HIS VAGARIES

(*Continued from page* 295)

can be contrasted with figures for other cities in that year: Berlin, 37 gallons; London, 43 gallons; Paris, 47 gallons; Holland (despite the reputation of the Dutch), 30 gallons in 1926; Baltimore, Cleveland, and Detroit, neck and neck, with about 127 gallons apiece; Philadelphia, scrubbing its marble doorsteps, 160 gallons; and Chicago, for reasons that visitors and residents alike may guess, including the stockyards, 292 gallons.

Household furnishings show a consistently greater rise than the increase in the population from 1919 to 1925. In furniture, the deflated value of the output grew 36 per cent, of oilcloth and linoleum products, 51 per cent; carpets and rugs, 67 per cent. Phonographs, on the other hand, suffered a very decided setback—the value of the output manufactured going down from $86,000,000 in 1919 to $36,000,000 in 1925; while pianos seem to remain at a standstill.

One gets a merry picture of the Consumer family, more flexible than ever before in their ways, and on the whole on the up-grade—getting a better car, changing that unused closet into a guest bath-room, eating salad instead of cereal, sending the children to college. But there are empty spots in the picture, sketched in a final chapter on The Standard of Living on the Farm Population, for which C. J. Galpin prepared the data. The farmer's story is told elsewhere in this issue. It is sufficient to add here that many of the encouraging facts cited above apply very little, if at all, to about one-half of our people. Moreover, among the urban dwellers themselves these blessings are very unevenly distributed, as a recent article in Survey Graphic pointed out (Our Amazing Prosperity, by Daisy Lee Worthington Worcester: Survey Graphic, November, 1928). Among the most convincing signs of our progress is the evidence cited by Mr. Wolman through the declines in infant mortality and tuberculosis, which are commonly conceded to reflect poverty.

Mr. Average Consumer (and his wife and children) are encouraging symptoms, but at best they can never be more than statistical abstractions. What prosperity means to us, individually and as families, awaits the new studies for which Mr. Wolman pleads, to show us what incomes people actually are gettings and what these will buy for them in health, housing, food, leisure and the rest.

## THE LIGHTING SYSTEM IMPROVES

(*Continued from page* 310)

something like habit. Despite staggering difficulties and discouragements, the League of Nations has driven its roots so deep that even if it were dissolved in the catastrophe of another general war it would have to be built up again.

DESPITE the best efforts and malice of reactionary American politicians to ignore and obstruct, the participation of the United States, not only through individuals but by governmental activities of innumerable kinds, increases almost daily. We are on the verge of entering the World Court, which notwithstanding all efforts to obscure and camouflage the fact, is an activity of the League of Nations as such. Our ultimate entry into membership in the League itself is in my judgment inevitable and probably nearer in time than either friends or enemies of the League suspect. These things are part of a world movement. The era of international cooperation is well under way. As the radio knows no international boundaries and the aeroplane flies with the supercilious complacency of the eagle across man's imaginary

(*Continued on page* 330)


## *There's no Labor Commission for* MRS. PANEPENTO

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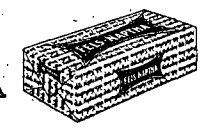

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(*Continued from page* 327) lines, the old barriers dissolve.

Just now, the United States, by action of its government, for the first time of its own motive has filed at Geneva, in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations, its participation in the treaties to abolish slavery and to restrict the liquor traffic in Africa. The anti-Slavery convention was drafted by a commission of the League Assembly in 1926. It is the first league convention to be ratified by the Senate of the United States. The treaty regarding the liquor traffic is one of those signed at St. Germain in 1919. Because the United States did not ratify the Versailles treaty, the St. Germain conventions were not submitted to the Senate until recently. The significance of a subtle but unmistakable change in the American governments attitude toward Geneva and the League as actual headquarters for international co-operation hardly can be exaggerated.

In the old days, the episode of the Canadian rum-running I'm Alone, sunk on the high seas by gunfire from a United States coast-guard vessel, might well have occasioned war. For some days the newspaper headlines smelled of it. But when Secretary Stimson invoked the provisions of the 1924 arbitration treaty, designed to meet just such controversies, Canada instantly accepted, and the headline war blew away like morning mist.

Intent toward the peaceful composition of quarrels appears in the end at last of the forty-year-old controversy over the Tacna-Arica region, between Chile and Peru. That dispute, originated in the "peace" following the Chilean-Peruvian war of 1879-83, over a territory high in the Andes, has bedevilled the relations of those two South American countries ever since. Now the arbitration of the President of the United States, inherited by Mr. Hoover from the Coolidge administration, seems to have come to success, and although Mr. Hoover has had nothing to do with it, he is fortunate in having that success appear as the first-fruits of his international ministrations.

AGAIN, at Geneva we are fortunate in having brought by the mouth of Ambassador Gibson what is interpreted as a happy formula to the proceedings of the preparatory conference about disarmament. After all, it is only a formula; nothing may come of it, and at least it envisions only a horizontal reduction which would leave the ratios of armament relatively unchanged. But it does contemplate limitation of armaments at lower levels, and it does follow up with suggestion of action in appropriate spirit, to embody the pious aspirations of the so-called Kellogg Pact.

One hesitates to estimate the degree in which these affirmative things will offset the negative. It is of the devil-and-all that this should be the precise moment selected to bring into the House of Representatives a tariff bill designed to add new spikes and broken glass to the wall circumscribing our international commerce. Out-Heroding Herod in its threat particulary against nations—such as Canada and Argentine—toward which of late we have been making more than ordinarily enthusiastic professions of friendship. Never mind that it will be cut to pieces, drastically modified, by the Senate and in conference afterward; the first and lasting impression upon the neighbors is that when it comes to the showdown we are "looking out for Number One," regardless of the prosperity of which we have been boasting, and of what our grabbing after more may do to the rest of the world.

World movements have their ups-and-downs. We are no better or more high-minded in the long run than our neighbors. Nor they than we. 'Number One" is their chief look-out, quite as much as ours. Ultimate disarmament, world peace, however the needle may move back and forth on the Cosmic Dial in the meanwhile, will be, must be, expression of the world's discovery that it is one entity; that no nation can rise by pushing others down; that the real interests are common interests.

## OUR TOWN

(*Continued from page* 309)

Two "nice young men" who were carefully trained to prepare their conversational topics before calling on girls.

An artistic young grocer—"to the manner born."

A youngish doctor with a scientifically trained and very cultivated mind. His only danger lies in his becoming a vogue.

A young, popular society man who not only took his dose (of sixty days at the work farm for drunken driving) as a good sport, but made of himself an exemplary inmate and was as popular there as in his own social environment.

The ex-tennis player who has still the traits and interests of a college athlete, but not the agility. He seems pathetically unprepared for age.

Our lung specialist whose personality is as dry as a dry cough.

The weepy Presbyterian elder. He cannot help weeping when he is happy and since happiness for him lies in his church affiliations, with which five-sixths of his time are spent, the tears flow often. His wife has an enigmatic, not wholly clean, smile.

The steel magnate—crude, brutish, silent, with a heavy-handed suavity which he brings out when he feels the occasion demands it.

A mother of six quite naturally feeble-minded children, who believes that paying taxes insures satisfactory service in all directions.

A family of obvious culture and refinement but uniformly inarticulate in verbal expression.

Our "cafeteria king," whose advice to "Eat the Marshall Way" has been carefully dinned into our consciousness.

The pathetic English Episcopal rector who obviously practices a liquid enunciation before his looking-glass.

A quiet, religious, charitable man with keen business ability, at middle age still cherishing his college fraternity associations. One room in his house is decorated with fraternity symbols and is reserved for the exclusive use of weekly fraternal gatherings.

Our dirty journalist—editor and manager of a paper which frankly attacks the private reputation of one prominent individual after another, often with real humor and sometimes with benefit. He is even now collecting material.

The after-dinner Rotarian speaker. Speeches are as life itself to him and those to women are fulsome, leaving nothing to the imagination.

A quiet, dignified, reflective man, sincerely religious, a lover of books, pictures and music. He is patient and humorous with his grimly practical, exhaustingly philanthropic wife, whose jelly goes automatically to all those in trouble.

A little Englishman who waits on table for his wife at their dinner parties.

Our "little woman" politician.

A beautiful, intelligent Italian family who blasted our early conception of "Eyetalians."

Our leading baby doctor—incomparable, unsparing in his work and doted on by all the young mothers to such an extent that he is becoming spoiled and slightly jaded.

A Swedish singer who reminds one of a stern noble figure on the prow of a viking ship.

An old man who always acted so intimate and gallant with me on the street-cars but never paid my fare, even back in the nickel-fare days.

A handsome middle-aged man who completely upset us by having an affair with his stenographer.

"Handsome Harry"—a man entirely satisfied with himself. The stories of his "tightness" and "nerve" are among our best town anecdotes. Best of all is the incident of the bill sent him from the candy store in which he waited for the car: "Nibblings—$3.89."

A man with a weakness for invalid wives.

Our youngest millionaire. He built two palaces simultaneously—one here and one in Palm Beach. But he is terrified for fear some one will try to get some of his money.

A fascinatingly hideous man with two passions—one to make money by a short-cut scheme, and the other to perform in amateur dramatics.

A garrulous, generous Irishman who was wretched abroad—he didn't feel at home, even with the drinks.

The malpractitioner, ousted from the Medical Society, now making cosmetics with alluring French names.

Two domesticated men who with steady courage and resourcefulness find themselves new wives as soon as the old ones die.



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A little man whose hearty kisses I always dreaded as a child because of his bushy moustache.

*Scene IV. The Woman's Club is being addressed on Current Events by a woman of whom "we are all proud." In the admiring audience may be seen the following:*

A pert, ungrammatical little woman with a feeling of *rapport* for all shop girls and old people. She is a member of the "Ladies of the Eastern Star" and chief attendant at all the "Applied Psychology" courses. She doesn't get more than a third of what the lecturer is saying but she thinks she's wonderful just the same.

The "magpie"—a woman who is mad at all the world since she lost control of the club.

The young woman who shocked and entranced the club with her review of Michael Arlen's books. A sweet, blithe face and a bluff.

The wife and daughter of a crook, struggling bravely to keep a bland mask over the anxieties he causes them.

A little spinster who was born an "old maid." She has a high, squeaky voice which quickly drops to a mouthy whisper when she finds the use of the word "toilet" unavoidable.

The club "dog"—the woman who does all the dirty work because by so doing she is thrown with a social group she couldn't attain otherwise.

A woman who pins all her hopes on the church and finds the subject of immortality one of happy certainty.

A club woman with a modern point of view, a clever tongue and a quiet dignity.

Our lady importer of *"objets d'art"* and rare furniture. A shrewd business woman with the proper amount of snobbery for her profession.

A promoter of causes with a genius for publicity. As a sign of gratitude to God for sparing her boy in the War, she has "shared her trip around the world" with twenty-five audiences.

A family of old maids always making witty, wry comments on themselves.

A well-sublimated young girl, contentedly teaching music, to the distress of her friends who fear "life is passing her by."

A woman of high native intelligence and no education. She can however write a paper on any subject, no matter how abstruse, by dint of intelligent resourcefulness.

The woman who held another club on her shoulders for years. She has a fascinating habit of forgetting to close her mouth after a sentence, thus giving one a much-exposed sensation. Her diningroom is decorated with frescoes done from some of her favorite post-cards brought home from Europe.

An old maid who was left without a profession when china-painting went out of fashion. Her voice is high and shrill, her shoulders droop and she holds her head down in such a way that in looking up she must inevitably wrinkle her whole brow in fine little rows. She has carefully explained that her singleness is due to not believing in long engagements. You are left to fill in the rest.

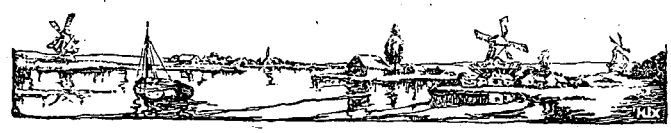
The woman whose kindness all runs to dumb animals and overlooks her daughter.

The glad woman who exulted in the fact that her husband died while fishing.

IS THE HOUSEWIFE A LADY OF LEISURE?
(*Continued from page* 302)

pickles and preserves that graced her table, her starched linens and ruffled petticoats, and the intricate construction of her gowns and bonnets, we may well wonder whether our progress has been wholly in the direction of greater elaboration!

Whatever may have been true of our great-grandmother's day, this much is certain: the primary problem of a large proportion of homemakers is still (*Continued on page* 333)

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**NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK**—Porter R. Lee, president, New York, N. Y.; Howard R. Knight, sec'y, 277 E. Long St., Columbus, Ohio. The Conference is an organization to discuss the principles of humanitarian effort and to increase the efficiency of social service agencies. Each year it holds an annual meeting, publishes in permanent form the Proceedings of the meeting, and issues a quarterly Bulletin. The fifty-sixth annual convention of the Conference will be held in San Francisco, California from June 26th to July 3rd, 1929. Proceedings are sent free of charge to all members upon payment of a membership fee of five dollars.

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To create and stimulate health consciousness and responsibility among the colored people in their own health problems.
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**NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERENCE UNION**— Mrs. Ella A. Boole, president; Headquarters, 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. To secure effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, to advance the welfare of the American people through the department of Child Welfare, Economics of Prohibition, Social Morality, Scientific Temperance Instruction, Racial Groups, and other allied fields of endeavor. Official publication: "The Union Signal" published at Headquarters.

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**WORKER'S EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA**—A cooperative Educational Agency for the promotion of Adult Education among Industrial Workers. 476 West 24th Street, New York City, Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary.

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(*Continued from page* 331) how to cut down their hours of work to a reasonable number.

But how about those homemakers who do not have enough work? Unexpectedly small as their number appears to be, their importance is none the less great. For even today there are several millions of them, and we may confidently expect their ranks to increase. What solution can be found for their problem of too much leisure?

For the farm housewife, of course, the answer is simple. When her homemaking drops to a part-time job, additional work lies literally at her door-step, work which is flexible in amount and which she can readily fit into her housekeeping schedule.

It is the city homemaker who presents the difficult problem. For her the answer is usually made, "a job outside of the home". But those who make this suggestion are clearly not among the 2,000,000 married women who are trying it. If they were, they would realize that with outside work their troubles are not at an end, but are just beginning. For the great majority of jobs available are full-time jobs, and the homemaker usually finds that she has jumped from the frying-pan into the fire. Where she had too much leisure when she did only her household work, she has too little when she does that and another job in addition.

"Let her husband share the work with her," the feminist suggests. But quite aside from the possibly undue optimism concerning the husband's acceptance of this plan, can we consider it as anything more than a temporary makeshift? Can we look forward with any satisfaction to a way of life in which husband and wife prepare a hasty breakfast before dashing off to work, and return home at the end of the day to prepare dinner, wash dishes, and do the cleaning and laundering? Many of us have seen it tried. Some of us have tried it. And it is not our idea of a satisfactory home life, even for the family without children.

It is possible, of course, that the number of part-time jobs for women may increase. But usually even these jobs will require regular, consecutive hours of work—and three meals a day and the emergency needs of the family play havoc with such standard hours. Many of the homemakers with too much leisure, moreover, are "post-graduate mothers," who will find it difficult to get any jobs at all, since their years of full-time homemaking will have put them out of the running in the business and professional world. One of the most difficult aspects of this whole problem of the housewife's time is the variation in the amount of her homemaking work at different periods in her married life.

For many women there is a further limitation to this double job solution. The demands of housekeeping still have first claim upon their time and attention. They must adopt the occupation of housewife as a by-product of adopting the married state. In the long list of occupations reported by the census, there is not one for which we should expect every worker to be fitted. Is there any reason to think that the one occupation which the census does not list is unique in this respect? Is there any ground for our customary attitude that every woman can do her best work and find her greatest satisfaction in housekeeping? Is this not as absurd as to expect every man to fit naturally into farming? If farming, or any other one occupation, were the inevitable accompaniment of marriage for men, what, it is interesting to speculate, would happen to the percentage of bachelors?

I mention farming not out of loyalty to the government department in which I happen to work, but because it offers the nearest parallel to homemaking, in that it is one of our largest occupations, employing nearly one-third as many workers as homemaking, is carried on by isolated workers with a minimum of labor-saving machinery, receives many words of praise and little actual assistance, and is to a large extent unsullied by a certain and adequate monetary reward.

The conclusion seems inevitable, then, that the time spent by married women in housekeeping must be reduced—reduced not only for those who are overworked to a reasonably-sized job, but reduced as well for many others to a leisure-job—a job which can be done by the homemaker outside of regular working hours, a job in many cases so small as not to be properly classed as a job at all.

What are the methods by which these reductions can be made?

We might sum them up under three general heads. First, increased employment of paid workers in the home. Second, increased efficiency of work by the housewife. And third, increased use of large-scale, outside agencies.

The employment of "hired help," of course, is the easiest method from the standpoint of the individual homemaker. But it is a method which few families can afford. Only about 5 per cent of the homes of the country now employ paid workers, and there is little reason to expect that this number will greatly increase in the future. And fortunately so. There is no surer way of postponing a real solution of the homemaker's time problem than by foisting it on the shoulders of the unskilled worker.

It is possible, of course, that the future holds a surprise in store for the housewife, that in place of the unskilled maid-of-all-work of the past we shall see an increase in part-time skilled workers in the home, workers adequately trained and working under standard contracts (*Continued on page* 336)



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**NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA**—Mrs. Raymond Robins, honorary president; Miss Rose Schneiderman, president; Miss Elisabeth Christman, secretary-treasurer; 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. Stands for self-government in the work shop through trade union organization; and for the enactment of industrial legislation. Official publication, Life and Labor Bulletin. Information given.

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(*Continued from page* 333) as to hours, wages and duties. Such a development, of course, would demand a revolution in the conditions of household employment, but such a revolution is already long over-due, and gives some signs at last of putting in its tardy appearance.

For most homemakers, however, the cost of even an unskilled employe is prohibitive. And many who could afford to pay for help find the disadvantages outweighing the advantages. What promise can they hope to find in the second method of reducing the demands of their housekeeping—in the new techniques and devices for increasing household efficiency?

The answer depends upon how drastic a reduction in working time is expected. Although this method undoubtedly has value, we have tended of late to exaggerate its promise, to overlook its limitations.

This is especially true of the application of scientific management to homemaking. Being Americans, we are greatly impressed by the efficiency of modern industry—by the small amount of time and effort required to turn out a large output. We are challenged by the comparative inefficiency of the household industries. We are sensitive to the element of truth in the familiar saying that "man works in the twentieth century while his wife keeps house in the sixteenth." And we have become very hopeful of bringing about a belated industrial revolution in the home through the principles and methods of management developed by large-scale industry. To some enthusiasts, we have here the magic formula which will bring the tasks of the household up to twentieth-century standards.

It is in the "standardizing of operations," in "finding the one best way" of doing a particular task, that most of these hopes for the future have their source. And that some gains can be made in this way is beyond question. Motions can be studied, steps counted, work timed and charted for the homely task of dishwashing or cooking as well as for the more honored labor of bricklaying, and processes revised in the household as well as in the "outside world."

But even in this most promising field, the possibilities are after all limited. Finding "the one best way" for even a simple domestic job is a difficult and time-consuming matter, requiring much skill and still more patience. The rare homemaker who is willing and able to meet these demands can hope to cover only a few of her many tasks. And using "the one best way" consistently and with reasonable speed, once it is found, requires more frequent repetition of the task and more uniform conditions of work than even the thrice-daily routine of dishwashing provides. The most the housewife can hope to achieve is a rough standardization, the elimination of the most glaring wastes in her use of time and effort. And even these limited gains will probably be made by a very small proportion of homemakers. It is well here to bear in mind that in the manufacturing industries, where scientific management had its rise, the percentage of establishments which have adopted it is still small, and yet there are less than one-third of a million factories to be reached by the "new gospel," as compared with twenty-six million homes.

Much more promise, probably, lies in the labor-saving house and in household equipment. For here the initiative rests largely with the builder, manufacturer, and high pressure salesman—and they are determined to rescue the homemaker from her drudgery. For the farm woman especially, and for all homemakers who are overworked, this seems the most hopeful solution. But the cost of a large assortment of household appliances, most of which must stand idle most of the time, will greatly restrict their use. And in even the most fully equipped house, housekeeping cannot be reduced to a leisure-time job, if the homemaker prepares the meals herself and does her own cleaning and laundering.

There remains, then, for the homemaker who would carry an outside job the third method of reducing her housekeeping—that of transferring it to the large-scale, outside agency,

It is this method, of course, which has brought the major reduction in housekeeping in the last fifty years. And in spite of our antagonism, it is probably the method which will bring the greatest reduction in the coming half century. The equipment salesmen may win out in the next ten or twenty years, but by the time the machinery which they are about to sell us becomes obsolete, the commercial laundry, the commercial housecleaning service, and finally that still most unsatisfactory agency, the commercial meal-provider, will probably have won us over as their customers, just as the clothing manufacturer, the canner, and the baker already have done. We do not like the idea now. A few years ago we did not like the idea of ready-made clothing. Our capacity to change our likes, to adjust to changed economic and social conditions, is probably not at an end.



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